

TEN CENTS.

THE STANDARD

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY, AT NO. 43 UNIVERSITY PLACE.

[Entered at the post office in New York as second-class matter.]

VOL. XI. No. 16. |
WHOLE No. 370. |

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1892.

{ ONE YEAR, \$2.00
FOUR MONTHS, \$1.00

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THE WORLD'S FAIR AT CHICAGO.

It is altogether probable that under the auspices of the authorities in charge of the Columbian Exposition, an International Single Tax Congress will be held at Chicago in August, 1893. In preparation for this event strenuous exertions should be put forth between now and then to extend and increase popular interest in the subject. Everybody who is himself interested can do something. He can excite the interest of friends and neighbors, he can answer questions, he can urge the lukewarm to do their share, he can write to public men, he can introduce the single tax to his neighbors through the local paper, or, if nothing better occurs to him, he can hire THE STANDARD to do his work by putting trial copies into the hands of as many people as he can afford to pay for at ten cents each for a four weeks' subscription. If in addition to the ten-cent subscriptions for which he personally pays, he solicits such subscriptions from acquaintances whose interest is already sufficiently aroused to induce them to invest ten cents in further investigation, he will sow seed of whose harvest no man can prophecy. If an average of ten of these subscriptions for each present subscriber were secured, over sixty thousand new people would be reading about the subject every week for four weeks. A proportion of these, astonished at the progress of a movement they suppose to be dead, and captivated by principles of which they as yet have no understanding, would continue their subscriptions for the remainder of the year, and in reading the book they would receive as a premium, would for the first time grasp the philosophy and realize the far-reaching and beneficent effects of the single tax reform. What better work can any single tax man find to do, if he wants to do something, than piling up these ten-cent subscriptions. Trial subscriptions for four weeks are ten cents. Extension List subscriptions for the remainder of the year, open to new subscribers and trial subscribers, are one dollar, and include a choice from Henry George's books. Regular subscriptions are three dollars a year.

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THE STANDARD

VOL. XI.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1892.

NO. 18.

THE MAY-DAY SCARE.—The all-absorbing subject in Europe during the past week has been the violent demonstrations which the workingmen were expected to make on the first of May. But the first of May has come and gone without any such demonstrations. We have said that when the savages that an unjust civilization is nurturing in the heart of every city, shall really rise in their fury, there will be no time for hysterical apprehension such as that which has disturbed the comfort of Europe and furnished our correspondents abroad with material for terrible sensations with which to interlard their scandalous gossip. We shall find ourselves in the midst of packs of wild beasts. In the draft riots of 1863 New York had but a suggestion of what awaits the civilized world if legalized injustice continues long to fatten the privileged upon the earnings, and at the expense of the poverty and degradation, of the many. Then but a few were moved by a common sense of outrage: the great mass of the people were out of sympathy with them. But those few acted spontaneously and furiously, regardless of consequences. So will great masses everywhere move when they turn, as turn they will, against the rich who personify to them the injustice that is every day more keenly felt wherever the luxury of unearned wealth is flaunted in the face of undeserved want.

It is a mistake to confound Labor Day processions with an uprising such as every intelligent observer foresees as certain to come if justice be not speedily established. It is a mistake, too, to regard the crime of Ravachol—who appears more like a central office dummy than the desperado he pretends to be—as a forerunner of general revolt. The uprising that our civilization has to fear is not a premeditated and organized assault, nor the work of dark conspirators. Society can crush all such. It is the unpremeditated and unexpected explosion that we have to fear, which will rend society as steam rends a boiler when it bursts. Injustice alone can produce that explosion, and if we remove injustice we may calm our fears.

It is a favorite quotation of those who would silence the murmurings of discontent by the strong hand and the ready rope that "justice must be done though the heavens fall." It would be safer, not to say more Christian-like, to insist that "justice must be done lest the heavens fall."

WANTS SOME HIMSELF.—Robert Blissert is a New York tailor, and a very good tailor, too. He is also a protectionist, and if not a good protectionist, at least a logical one. He believes that Americans are robbed when foreign goods are consumed here, and with more reason than generosity he applies his doctrine to the trade in which he earns his own living. It may be well enough to protect steel rails for the benefit of Mr. Carnegie; but, if suits of clothing are not protected also, how can Mr. Blissert participate in the profits of protection, says Robert. Accordingly Robert Blissert, tailor, appeals to the Central Labor Union of New York, asking its aid in securing an amendment to the McKinley bill by placing a protective tariff upon all personal clothing. If this were done, every wearer of a foreign-made garment would be obliged to pay a heavy tax as he walked down the gang-plank to the dock, and thereafter would prefer to buy his clothing at home. He might even become a customer of Mr. Blissert. But suppose he did not. Suppose he patronized a Fifth avenue shop, or, heaven save us, fell so low as to buy cheap ready-made goods of Rogers, Peet & Co., or some one of their competitors! How, then, would Mr. Blissert profit by his scheme for protecting imported tailors resident in New York? Easy enough. Put a tax on all garments not made by Blissert.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—In the House of Commons the Women's Suffrage bill was defeated by a vote of only 175 against 152. The hackneyed arguments were made against the measure. It was said that in Wyoming the suffrage had degraded women, but this was disputed. One member insisted that educated Americans are opposed to enfranchising women, as if "educated" men (the aristocracy of culture) were not everywhere and at all times opposed to any extension whatever of the suffrage. The same member was certain that the only forces that would benefit by the passage of the bill would be clericalism and socialism. In one form and another this is a favorite opposition argument. It might be supposed from the frequency with which it is used, and the variety of its application, that the suffrage should be extended only as it will help this or that public policy. That is an error which has but to be stated to be seen. The question of women's suffrage must be decided by one and only one test. The way in which women will vote, whether for clericalism, or social-

ism, or prohibition, or anarchy, or monarchy, is nobody's affair but their own. The test is this: Does the power of government justly reside in the governed? If it does, the only reasonable distinction that can be made is as to mental capacity, and this distinction is, of necessity, arbitrary. Babes unquestionably are deficient; they are, therefore, to be excluded as incapable, and an age must be arbitrarily fixed when capability is presumed. That age reached, there can be no middle ground between idiocy or lunacy on the one hand, and full capability on the other. A person whom the courts regard as competent to manage his own affairs is competent to take part in public affairs. There are degrees of competency, of course, but these cannot be considered in determining the right of self-government.

The denial of the suffrage to women is a survival from the day when all the rights of the wife were merged in the rights of the husband, and when property, not man, was the source of the governing power. And just as the wife's rights as to person and property have come to be differentiated from those of the husband, so will her right to a voice in the common government be recognized. Nor is the day far off. Those who fight against it may, with the same effect, fight against the rising of to-morrow's sun.

A GREAT SPELL-BINDER.—Chauncey M. Depew delivered the oration last week on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Grant monument at New York city, and a few days later he delivered an extempore speech at the Republican convention at Albany. Readers of these two addresses will be apt to wonder why Mr. Depew's friends do not keep him exclusively for stump-speeches and after-dinner talks. That would spare the general public and save his reputation as a "spell-binder." The stump speech at Albany is one of the best specimens of that order of oratory; the oration at New York falls below the commonplace.

ILLINOIS AND THE PRESIDENCY.—The Illinois Democratic Convention has taken its place in the procession. In an exceedingly able platform it declares that the tariff is a tax and a burden, and when "levied upon the suggestion of private greed to promote monopoly and extortion, to build up the fortunes of a few beneficiaries and favored classes at the expense of the general welfare, it is leavened with injustice and oppression, a burden intolerable to freedom, and inconsistent with every principle of sound government." The platform indorses President Cleveland, and without reservation fully and completely approves his message of 1887. The delegates to the national convention were instructed to vote as a unit in accordance with the decision of a majority of the delegation; and as about two-thirds of the delegation are Cleveland men, this gives the vote of Illinois to the only Democrat who can be elected. The Cleveland tidal wave rises as it rolls on.

PRIZE ESSAYS ON TAXATION.—Public Opinion recently offered prizes for the best three essays on the question, "What, if any, changes in existing plans are necessary to secure an equitable distribution of the bur'en of taxation for the support of national, state, and municipal governments?" The first prize has been awarded to Walter E. Weyl, of Philadelphia, who advocates what he has been taught to regard as a system of checks and balances. It comprises customs duties and internal taxes for Federal revenues; income, inheritance, and corporation taxes for State revenues; and real estate for local revenues. The second prize has gone to Robert Luce, of Boston, who proposes to tax chiefly "that which is to be seen of all eyes," but by means of the income tax to reach also that kind of intangible property known as good will. Bolton Hall, of New York, obtains the third prize. He advocates, for local purposes, the concentration on local real estate of all taxes, and for other purposes taxes upon franchises and upon the special privileges of corporations.

None of these plans would secure an equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation: and we should be obliged to infer that the judges who awarded the prizes were not overwhelmed with good contributions from which to select, were it not that in giving place to those they did select they reversed the order of merit. Whether the three papers be judged with reference to the plan proposed, to clearness of statement, to correctness of analysis and of generalization, to the marshaling of authorities, or to strength of argument, Mr. Hall's is by far the best of the three. The difference between the other two is less marked. What chiefly distinguishes them is that the second blunders absurdly in the only reference it makes to elementary principles, and the first ignores elementary principles entirely. Yet, on the whole, the second appears to be somewhat the better of the two. If it could

be suspected that the judges knew the writer of the first to be a boy it might be supposed that they were unconsciously swayed by that knowledge, for the paper to which they assign first place is certainly a better piece of work for a boy than the other is for a man; but upon its merits, it can hardly be called the better paper. If the judges had determined the relative merits of the two by the toss of a copper they could not have been fairly blamed.

It may be doubted whether Public Opinion has by this contest added anything of value to the literature of taxation.

HOW FORTUNES ARE MADE.—The Tribune has begun the publication of a series of articles intended to show how every reputed millionaire made his fortune. The investigation was undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining whether it is true that the great fortunes of this country are due to the protective tariff. Such a collection of facts might be made very valuable, but there is nothing promising in the Tribune's work. Instead of showing what constitutes the great fortunes to which it has turned its attention, it endeavours to show only the modes by which they were begun. Thus, a millionaire who began life as a corner grocer, and built up a considerable business, but whose fortune is now represented by interests in protected industries, would be classified among grocers, and of him it would be asserted that his fortune was not due to the tariff.

Nevertheless, though the collection is utterly useless as an index to the relations of great fortunes to the protective tariff, it is full of meaning regarding a question to which the Tribune editor has evidently given no attention. Inadequate as it is, it shows that in the acquisition of 718 fortunes, reported in last Sunday's issue of the paper, the ownership of land distinctly and prominently figures in 321, or nearly half. In a large number of the others, land ownership is obviously one of the chief factors, though it is not specified. In others railroad monopoly, gas monopoly, telephone monopoly, telegraph monopoly, and patent monopolies are prominent. And in but very few, even upon the Tribune's superficial and careless exposition of the facts, does competitive business appear to have made the fortune.

So it happens that in an effort to acquit protection of blame for creating fortunes, the Tribune proves that they rest upon some form of monopoly, and come from the suppression of competition. That they do not all rest upon the form known as protection is of very little importance. Some of them confessedly do, and many more of them do also; nearly all the remainder are confessedly monopolistic, and the others could be shown to be. People who believe in breaking up protection because it is destructive of competition will not be swayed by such a showing as the Tribune makes. They are more likely to feel a sense of gratitude for the service which that paper is rendering the cause they espouse.

WHO PAY THE TAXES?

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

An intelligent correspondent puts, in concise form, the question so often asked in a vague, cloudy manner: "Will not the actual laborers of any country be compelled finally to pay all taxes? Can any plan be devised by which the wealth of the country can be made to bear the burden of taxation?"

These questions cannot be properly answered with either yes or no. The actual laborers of any country—including in that term all who do useful work—do in fact pay not only all the taxes, but also all the cost of supporting all the people who do not work. They pay the cost of everything. Nor can any plan be devised which will relieve them from this burden. Wealth means nothing at all, except the possession of power to make other people work for us. No property which does not give this power has any commercial value. If I own a house, be it ever so fine, it is not wealth, unless it is so situated that some other person would be willing to do work for me if I will let him use that house. There are hundreds of well-built houses in the western territories or states which are abandoned, because no one will render any work for their use. They are of no market value, and therefore they are not wealth.

But, while no one can devise a plan by which the laborers shall escape from paying all the taxes, it is easy to devise a plan by which they can be saved from paying them twice over. Nature compels them to pay all taxes once, in the rent of land. The landlords long ago invented a plan by which the laborers were forced to pay the taxes a second time. This is called "indirect taxation." The law allows landlords to collect from laborers a rent fully equal to all necessary taxes; and this is right, because an inexorable law of nature compels this payment to be made to somebody, and landlords are the people who, also, by natural law, are appointed to collect it. But the law allows the landlords to keep all this rent in their own pockets, except such small share of the taxes as they pay in common with laborers; and this is wrong, because the land

lords ought to pay every dollar of the taxes, since they have already collected them. Let the public revenue be collected solely out of ground rents, and the laborers will be entirely delivered from the burden of double taxation. From more than that no human power can deliver them.

Here it will be asked, as usual: "Cannot landlords increase their rent, if it is taxed, so as to make the laborers still pay the taxes over again?" No; it is impossible. Landlords now collect all the rent which it is possible for them to get. If all of it were taken away by taxation, they could not collect it a second time. Suppose the average laborer, earning \$500 a year (which is a large allowance) pays \$100 for ground rent. Suppose the State takes all of this from the landlord, and he then demands another \$100 from the tenant and gets it. The State then takes \$200 from the landlord, and he demands \$300 from the tenant; and suppose—which is impossible—he gets it. Still the State takes the \$300 from the landlord; and he demands \$400 from the tenant. Obviously the tenant would be reduced to starvation. Still, suppose that the landlord gets it, just once. The State again takes it all from him, and now he demands \$500 from the tenant, whose whole income is only \$500. How can he make the tenant pay it? The tenant would be dead long before this point was reached; and all other tenants, being subject to the same extortion, would be dead also. No one would be left alive, except a few score landlords and tax-gatherers. Rent and taxes would be alike extinct. So far from landlords being enabled to increase rent, in consequence of a heavy tax on rent, they would become more eager competitors for tenants, because they could not afford to keep any land out of use. The idea that a tax upon ground rent can be shifted upon the tenant is one of the most absurd that ever entered the brains of intelligent men.

The single tax upon ground rental values is, therefore, a plan which will relieve the laboring classes from all taxes, other than their present rent; and no wit of man can devise any plan which will relieve them from anything more.

NEW YORK CITY AND ITS LANDS.

W. B. SCOTT.

Under the title, "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," the political-science faculty of Columbia College is issuing a series of monographs containing original researches in fields such as the title indicates. Number three of this series is a pamphlet, illustrated with maps, on "The History of Municipal Ownership of Land on Manhattan Island," by George Ashton Black, Ph.D. Dr.

Black has taken his facts from the original public records, and his interesting pamphlet is, I believe, the first attempt to treat of this subject at length.

After the Indians had been bought out for twenty-four dollars or so, the owner of Manhattan Island was the Dutch West India Company, who governed it through the famous director, General Peter Stuyvesant; and from him, in 1658, the burgomasters of the town of New Amsterdam acquired, after much trouble, title to all the vacant lots inside the wall, that is, on the end of the island below Wall street. The grant was made in order to

give the town some means of raising a revenue, by disposing of the lands, as it had no power of taxation. The burgomaster's sales and disposal of these lots did not suit Peter Stuyvesant, for he complains of the "spaciousness and great size of the lots which some hold and occupy—the one more than the other." He, therefore, in 1660, caused a survey to be made of all vacant lots, and discovered several hundred on which no buildings had been erected. All such lots he ordered to be taxed the fifteenth penny, the proceeds to be applied to fortifications. By the "fifteenth penny," I presume, was meant one-fifteenth, or nearly 7 per cent. of their selling value. The option was given the owners of paying the tax on a valuation fixed by the burgomasters, or selling the lots to the burgomasters at the same valuation; or, if the owners fixed the valuation, the town was to have the option of taxing or buying at the owner's valuation. And this taxation (the only taxation at the time) was to continue "until the proprietors shall construct buildings, when the tax shall cease."

Wise old Peter Stuyvesant! What a city would this New York be to-day!

W. B. Scott was born in 1845 in New York City. His father is Prof. David B. Scott, of Columbia College, New York. He graduated from the public schools and attended the City College for three years, leaving in 1862. While occupying clerical positions in banking and railway offices he became a convert to the teachings of Henry George, reading "Progress and Poverty" in 1863, and coming in touch with the author. The two, who by that time had begun to hold small public meetings and had formed the American Free Soil Society, the first single tax organization. Of this society, of which Mr. Louis F. Post was president, Mr. Scott was acting secretary in 1865. Mr. Scott was on the staff of THE STANDARD from its first issue, writing for all the departments. At present he is contributing political and general matter to the English newspaper press through a well-known news-gathering association.



had your sagacious policy been developed and applied for the 230 years that have elapsed since then. I venture to say that this is one of the first instances in the history of the world where taxation was recognized and applied as an aid and stimulus to production (without in any way restricting it) instead of as a fine on labor and thrift. What a retrogression have we had, when to-day we levy an annual tax on the value of every beam and brick, every floor and roof of every house built, doing our best to discourage the growth of the city and its trade, and the comfort of its inhabitants; encouraging the owners of the typhus-breeding, dingy, crazy tenement barracks by low taxes, and actually bribing the owners of the "spacious and great lots" of vacant land to hold them unused by valuing them for taxation at from 50 per cent. down to as low as 10 per cent. of their true value—in general, we may say, taxing a lot with a house on it at three and a half or four times what an empty lot of the same value is taxed.

In 1665 the city was incorporated under English rule. The all-dominating Anglo Saxon had overcome the less enterprising Dutchman. The corporation was composed of the inhabitants of New York and Harlem, and its territory virtually included the whole of Manhattan Island, some twelve or fourteen miles long, by from three-quarters of a mile to three miles broad.

Like the Dutch burgomasters, the mayor and aldermen of the city appealed to their governor for a donation of unappropriated lands, and as a result the Dongan charter of 1686 was secured from Governor Dongan. This charter gave to the city about one-seventh of the whole of Manhattan Island, including its choicest part. The island then contained about 10,000 acres, and the charter gave about 1,450 acres of indisputable title. Since then some 2,400 acres have been filled in and added to the island. Below the present Twenty-eighth street the charter gave "sixteen acres, certain swamps, and the old Dutch Common in the vicinity of the present City Hall." [This is the only general statement on this point given by Dr. Black, but I gather from various statements that there must have been about 100 acres in this down-town property. I do not know what land the "sixteen acres" refers to. The Dutch Common is spoken of below.] Above Twenty-eighth street it gave a plot of some 1,100 acres in the middle of the island, from Twenty-eighth to about One Hundredth street, indefinitely broad, but extending in one part from First to Seventh avenues, and including a large part of what is now the Central Park. It also gave some 240 acres on the Hudson River, between One Hundred and Seventh and one Hundred and Twenty-fifth streets.

The first permanent taxing power was obtained by the city in 1691. It was to levy taxes "on houses," in proportion to the value they received, for making sewers and pavements. In 1693 the vestry of the established church (not the city) received power to tax the inhabitants for the minister's salary and for the maintenance of the poor, from which we see that land being already valuable and appropriated, the landless poor, whom "we have always with us," had begun to make themselves noticeable. This church taxation disappeared with the Revolution; the poor, however, remained. For fifty years the improvement assessments were practically the only municipal taxation (except occasional special taxes), the revenue of the city being derived from sales and leases of its lands, and from the leasing of the Brooklyn ferry and the city's dock, near what is now South Ferry.

Sales of the lands at the southern end of the city commenced immediately after the charter was obtained, as the city had to pay £324 in fees to the governor for the charter itself. The first sale was of sixteen acres, equal to say 200 lots, including streets, on the Hudson River, near the present Gansevoort street, for £16. Fourteen lots fronting Dock street brought £470. Other sales at similar prices were made all along the East River front up as far as Beekman street. The English (Trinity) Church received the 310 feet on Broadway, opposite Wall street, it now occupies, and the Dutch Church bought a plot on Exchange place south of Wall street, between Broad and William. The 240 acres above mentioned were sold at auction in 1701 for about £1 an acre. Other lots on the East River below Wall street were sold, as was the first City Hall site at the lower end of the city.

The first leases were made in 1704. One was a twenty-one-year lease of Beekman's Swamp, the large district, four and one half acres in extent, still known as "the Swamp," where the leather business is centered, between Spruce, Frankfort, Gold and Cliff streets. This tract was sold to Mr. Roosevelt in 1728 and 1734 for £100. The other was of some of the lands near the Harlem line, which ended the uptown commons and extended diagonally from Seventy-fifth street and the East River to One Hundred and Thirtieth street and the Hudson River. I mention the specific sales and leases in the lower part of the city, partly in order to show where the city's lands were located, as Dr. Black has not made it clear.

The beginning of the municipal debt, that gigantic institution, the pride of the financier, which now amounts to some \$100,000,000, was made in 1750-51, or say 140 years ago. The amount of the first permanent contribution to this debt was £860, the money being used to build a pier. From this time to the Revolution the city's revenues were partly from special annual taxes, partly from lotteries and partly from water rents, ferries and dock leases. The land sales and leases were few.

The old Dutch Common pasture included the present City Hall Park and the post office site, the triangular block occupied by the Potter and the Times buildings, and almost all the land east from Broadway to beyond Chatham street, or Park row, and south of Chambers street. This land was divided into lots and leased at rentals of from £2 to £4 annually per lot. Twenty eight lots on Thomas, Duane, and adjoining streets were first leased and then sold outright for £1,000 to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church; and the Potter and Times buildings triangle above mentioned was leased to the English Presbyterian Church at £40 a year. Thirty-seven years ago the church was allowed to sell this plot, and the city received one quarter of the proceeds. The plot sold for \$225,000.

In 1790, after the Revolution, one of the first acts of the free and politically

(if not economically) enlightened commonwealth was to sell 180 acres of the upper lands, mostly between Thirty second and Forty-eighth streets, and Lexington avenue and Broadway, at an average of twenty-eight pounds, or \$70 an acre. The pound was not a pound sterling, but a United States pound, worth about \$2.50.

In 1792, fifty acres, between Fifty-seventh and Sixty-fifth streets, and Third and Fourth avenues, sold for \$30 an acre. An acre will make at least twelve full lots, each 25 by 100 feet, and the adjoining streets, or sixteen lots without streets.

Regular municipal taxation seems to have begun with the new Government. About this time the city began to grow with great rapidity, the population being 30,000 in 1790, and 60,000 in 1800. Speculative values of lands had of course appeared. The growth attracted attention, and in 1793 the policy was adopted of selling every alternate lot of the remaining lands, and leasing the others. This policy was continued until 1844.

In 1805 and after, the old leases of downtown lots began to expire. They were renewed at rates fifteen to thirty times as great as those made twenty-one years before. Fifty-nine lots uptown were so'd by the city, at this time, at the rate of about \$2,000 an acre. They were surrounded by those mentioned above, which the city had sold sixteen years before for \$70 an acre.

About this time a pond and swamp at what is now Broadway and Elm street, south of Canal street, the pond being the city's by the charter, and the swamp being purchased from the Rutgers family, were filled in, divided into lots, and as the city debt was increasing rapidly, some fifty or more were sold for about \$1,000 a lot.

Some time before 1812 the city bought six and one quarter acres at Bellevue, Twenty-fourth to Twenty-eighth streets and East River, to accommodate the almshouse and penitentiary, which had grown out of their old quarters.

In 1813 the city traded some land it had bought down at the Narrows, south of Brooklyn, to the United States, and received the whole square at the extreme south end of the city bounded by Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge and State streets. It was laid out in seventeen lots and immediately sold, with buildings, for \$165,000 or nearly \$10,000 a lot, some eighty or one hundred times what it was worth one hundred and twenty-five years before. The profit to the city on the transaction was \$80,000. This is the identical block which the United States Government is now trying to re-purchase from the individual owners for a new custom house site. With the old, insignificant buildings on it, it was appraised a few days ago by seven experts at from \$1,700,000 to \$2,300,000, or twelve times what it was worth seventy-nine years ago. In this same year, 1813, the city debt of \$225,000 was doubled in order to buy the ground for Fulton Market. An operation similar to that just mentioned was the city's purchase of the old State prison site of six acres along the Hudson River, at Barrow, Christopher, Amos and Charles streets, in 1828, for \$32,500. This land was divided into one hundred lots and sold next year for \$128,000, giving a profit to the city of some 300 per cent. in one year.

The opening of the Erie and Champlain canals in accordance with the farsighted policy of New York's great governor, DeWitt Clinton, gave the city a tremendous impetus, and in the decade previous to 1835 the assessed value of real estate almost trebled, while population increased 60 per cent. The further growth of population necessitated costly improvements, particularly the construction of the Croton aqueduct for water supply and the building of those evidences of progress, the Tombs and a lunatic asylum. The debt incurred for the aqueduct amounted in 1843 to over \$12,000,000, and was the direct occasion of the ordinance of the following year, which allowed the commissioners of the sinking fund "to sell and dispose of all real estate belonging to the corporation and not in use for public purposes," thus ending the leasing system. This they accordingly did, and to-day, of the city's vast estate, compared with which even the enormous Astor property is small, we have practically nothing left, for even the city's lots that are now in Central Park were all, or nearly all, sold before the park was formed.

In 1844, when the leasing stopped and the final auction sales commenced, there remained, as near as I can make it out, about 5,000 full city lots of the old commons above Twenty-eighth street, in the heart of the city, mostly between Third and Seventh avenues; some 233 lots at Bellevue, and a sprinkling of lots downtown, including a few at Peck Slip, others at Chatham, Center, Chambers, and Duane (a little of the old Dutch Common) and a few at West and King streets, together with some market lands. Altogether, perhaps 400 acres remained.

The 1,450 acres, or more, given to the city by the Dongan charter and previous Dutch grants was as finely located property, on the average, as could be chosen. Uptown it was the choicest part of the uplands. Downtown it was well located; the Dutch Common, for instance, including the present City Hall square and the little Times-Potter building triangle. This triangle is but a stone's throw from that lot on the same street (Park row, corner of Ann) which Mr. Pulitzer bought the other day, paying at the rate of \$160 per square foot, or almost \$7,000,000 per acre. The 1,450 acres represent, as I estimate it, some 23,200 lots, each 20 by 100, and the adjoining streets. If to-day this property were owned and leased out by—say William Waldorf Astor or the Rhinelander family—it would bring to the owner probably \$680 per lot at least, besides paying at least \$120 a lot to the city in taxes on the ground alone, making a total of \$800 a lot, or over \$18,300,000 per annum. This is over one-half the total taxation of the city. I lay no particular stress on the absolute accuracy of this calculation; the principles to be considered in this connection are the same whether the figures are larger or smaller.

Our author devotes the last chapter of his pamphlet to comments and reflections on the administration of this common property, and arrives at the following conclusions:

First—It was, on the whole, honestly administered. Bad judgment there was, perhaps, as in the case of the sale of 240 acres at less than sixty-five dollars an acre, soon after the Revolutionary war; but up to the time

when the final sales began there had been no apparent dishonesty on the part of the officials.

Second—It was proved, he thinks, that municipal ownership of land with the leasehold system is unprofitable, and that it discourages improvements. The leases in the case of these municipal lands had to be at least twenty-one years long (this is the customary term of a New York ground lease), and before the twenty-one years expired the land so increased in value that the rent was not a fair percentage. "Neither were the structures put up creditably," says Dr. Black. "Nearly all were but two-story and attic brick buildings, the minimum required by the leases. In new communities, at least, private ownership in fee seems to be required to encourage improvement, and so far as it does encourage it benefits the community generally. Were we common owners again of the ground under the Potter and Times buildings, and it stood vacant, it would be better policy to give it to men who would put up those buildings than rent it to others who would improve it in the ordinary way."

This argument seems to me disingenuous. The leasing system was in vogue prior to 1844. To say that the city did not get a full percentage of the average value of its lands for the term of a lease, is simply to say that neither the city nor the lessor appreciated at the time the lease was made the enormous increase in land values that would accrue before it expired. But "half a loaf is better than no bread." Because the city did not get all the property was worth, shall it object to getting anything? The crude machinery used at first enabled miners to extract only \$300 worth of gold from ore that contained \$300 worth; but as the \$300 was almost all clear profit they did not cease to mine because they could not extract the other \$1,000, even though they knew how much they were leaving behind them.

That Mr. Roosevelt, who in 1734 purchased the four and one-half acre "swamp" property from the city, did rather better by his children, it seems to me, than did our city fathers by their children in selling the property.

Now as to the argument that ground leases are unfavorable to improvement. In a community where a large proportion of the people are land-owners this is to a certain extent true, but Dr. Black uses it as an argument against municipal ownership in a community where but the mere fraction of the people are landowners. Moreover, even in the new community it has its compensating advantages. Where the community owns land, and leases it on reasonably long terms at competitive rates, land of any value will never be idle and vacant, nor will great tracts be found with ridiculously inadequate improvements, as in the case of much private property which the owner expects to sell, and therefore leases on very short terms. But in 1844, when the leasing system ended, and it was decided to sell out the remaining city property, New York had ceased to be a new community. It was already a large city, with a population of renters, and people knew what a gigantic city it was bound to become; it was predicted as early as 1800 that the city would contain three million inhabitants in 1800. To-day New York is a city of tenements, and something like 95 per cent. of its people own no land. What shall we say of the discontinuance of municipal ownership at the very time when many of the objections to it had seemed to be of any account?

Dr. Black says the city could well afford to give away the ground on which the Potter and Times buildings stand, in order to have private owners erect those buildings. But it would not be necessary for the city to give or even sell the land to the improvers in order to have the very fine structures built on it; nor has it been necessary for many years. A few instances may be cited to prove this statement.

The building erected by the late A. T. Stewart, on the block bounded by Broadway, Fourth avenue, Ninth and Tenth streets, was erected twenty years ago on property leased from the trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor property for twenty-one years, with renewal privileges. It was, and, perhaps, is to-day, the finest retail store building in the city, if not in the country. Tiffany's large building on Fifteenth street and Union Square was erected and stands on leased property. Six years ago, Austin Corbin leased a lot on the corner of John street and Broadway for twenty-one years, at \$18,000 a year, it being expressly stipulated in the lease that he should put up a building worth \$300,000, which he has since done. The Evening Post building, a block above, corner of Fulton, was erected in 1874 on ground leased for three terms of twenty-one years each, the ground rent for the second term to be \$7,000 more than for the first, and for the third to be fixed by agreement or arbitration.

In Chicago, the famous Rookery building, said to be the largest and finest office building in the world, stands on leased ground (I understand the city owns the land), the ground rent being fixed by periodical re-valuations. The Richelieu hotel building of that city is also on leased ground, as are likewise the fine First National Bank building and other similar structures. These are but a few cases of many that could be mentioned, and they prove that the city might far better have retained the title to the triangular plot occupied by the Potter and Times buildings. Of countries like England it is hardly necessary to speak. Almost the whole of the finest part of London has been built by lessors on the lands of the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, and others, who gladly took the half loaf when they could not get the whole.

Dr. Black further says: "Exclusive private ownership of land has this advantage, that under the stress of its (?) competition those who are in general best able to improve the land, get it." But he proceeds to say:

It is also true that some of these, thanks to the practice of assessing vacant lots for purposes of taxation lower than improved property of the same value, and it more congenial not to use their power, and buy merely to sell again, or for various causes do not half utilize their holdings. This is the vice of the system, but it is a curable one.

Already there is in New York city, for example, perceptibly less favoring of vacant lots in making up the tax list; and it is to be expected that such favoritism—arisen from a time when municipal taxes and expenditure were comparatively insignificant, will not last much longer. To tax them an extra fifteen, as they were once did, would no doubt be crude treatment, but certainly not worse adapted to prevent conditions than the twenty now in effect extended to them as compared with improved property. It is a familiar conception that nothing economic is

so beneficial to a community as to have every one at work and utilization everywhere. When this idea dominates so that utilities are not discouraged and non-utilization encouraged, the real merits of private ownership of land will be much more apparent; and they are poor defenders of it who, in the case of city land, still stand by the old notion (harmless enough when local taxes were low, land cheap, and every one had already more work than he could do), that because valuable land is held idle, for that very reason it should be exempt or taxed at a minimum valuation, but that the minute it is improved, and so begins to do some good, both it and the improvements may be assessed at the maximum valuation, from 60 to 100 per cent. of selling value, according to local custom.

If the view be correct that highest practical utilization carries with it greatest general benefit, and if the observation can be relied on that ownership by one and utilization by another do not conduce to a high grade of the latter, then both the leasehold and the speculative policy which were prevalent prior to 1844 must be considered less rational than the policy then inaugurated of getting the land into the hands of individuals, and recouping through the increase of taxable property.

Now, while I do not for a moment admit the accuracy of the statement that ownership by one and utilization by another do not conduce to a high grade of improvement, provided long leases, equitably adjusted and readjusted by arbitration, are given, I can say that all of us who believe in the teachings of "Progress and Poverty" most emphatically endorse the above of the conception which should dominate taxation, namely, that industry should not be discouraged nor non-utilization encouraged. Only we believe that when this idea does dominate taxation, the demerits of private ownership of land values, as well as the merits of private possession of land, will be apparent. And, likewise, that just as fast as people see and recognize the evil and manifest injustice of private ownership of land values, just so soon will the idea of encouraging industry and discouraging the dog-in-the-manger attitude of those who "do not find it congenial" to utilize the natural resources they hold dominate taxation. The growth of this idea of taxation is synchronous with the growth of the single tax movement.

To have "every one at work and utilization everywhere?" Can we have that and at the same time have the land passing year by year into the hands of a relatively smaller and smaller proportion of idle rent drawers? No! When these ideas dominate taxation living on ground rents will be a thing of the past, and with that "hoary-headed wrong made sacred by age" will disappear the curse of progressive civilization—land speculation and monopoly; not merely the speculation which throttles the life out of many a growing city by surrounding it with a chain of idle vacant lots, but the monopoly that holds ninety-nine acres of coal land, unused, that it may dole out to the people at maximum prices the coal extracted from the hundredth acre, and all other forms of the same evil.

We do not believe in having the State or the city take land and lease it out. We believe in leaving it in the hands of individuals, with title in fee simple, to transfer and devise as they see fit. We believe in making easy for any one to secure absolute and secure possession of land. And we hold that all that is necessary to accomplish this can be done by means of an adjustment of taxes and assessments, which, compared with the system of government leasing of land, is, to use a phrase of Dr. Black, "like the clearing house system in banking compared with the old-time operations of non-clearing house finance."

What Dr. Black really argues for is private and exclusive possession of land. This we, the single tax men, not only believe in, but would like to make as nearly universal as possible. What we do not believe in is private ownership of the rental value of land; this, the creation of the whole community, we would take in taxation, and this only, thus doing away with all taxes on improvements and industry, making real free trade and free production.

But it is not so much because we want the whole people to share in the benefits of ground rent. As Mr. George has said, we would have the Government take this rent even if we had to throw it into the sea. It is mainly because, when taxes on all land, according to its value, totally irrespective of the improvements, or lack of improvements, no one will hold one foot of land more than he actually needs or can cause to be used. When this is the case industry will be free, for then opportunity for work will be unlimited, and then, I think, the first taxation of a new city will not be for the purpose of providing for the poor.

LADY MATHESON WAS RIGHT.

W. D., in Dundee (Scotland) People's Journal.

Why can't the advocates of landlordism be consistent? If the land really belongs to the landlords, then, in the name of common sense, let the landlords alone, as they are quite entitled to sell their commodity at the highest price they can get. When the starving crofters went to Lady Matheson for redress, she replied, "The land is mine; I can do what I please with it." I say, "Quite right, my lady; if the industrious classes are fools enough to allow you and a few others to hold the title-deeds of their country in their pockets, why, then, let them cease complaining and be content to starve."

IS THE CHRISTIAN AT WORK POSITIVE?

The Christian at Work quotes from an English paper a statement that royalism, militarism, priesthood, and landlordism are the four economic vampires of England, and says:

Better move over here, neighbor, while our immigration laws allow you to! We have some unlovely things, but "royalism, militarism, priesthood, and landlordism" are positively not among them.

NO NECESSITY FOR CROWDING.

Kansas City Star.

The nervous people who are afraid of overcrowding may reassure themselves. Of the 390 million acres of land in the United States, not quite one-half has been surveyed, much less settled upon. It may be safely calculated that one-half of the unsurveyed land is arable, and it cannot be said that the other half is not arable; for, as agriculture is carried on in China, and some other of the old settled countries of the earth, there is scarcely any land in the United States, with the exception of a few acres on the summit of Pike's Peak, that might not be made to produce something

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

For six months the Fifty-second Congress has been in session, and what has it accomplished? Practically nothing. Ushered in with a magnificent flourish of trumpets, that promised great things, it has proved to be pre-eminently a Congress of masterly inactivity. The Democratic House has watched the Republican Senate, and the Republican Senate has stood guard against the Democratic House. After six precious months the only important measures the Democratic House has passed have been two little tariff bills.

The reason of this inactivity on the part of the Democratic majority in the House is to be found, in the first place, in the inability of the Democratic officers to control their followers. So many instances of this have been given that the speaker and his lieutenants seem to have settled upon a policy of doing nothing so as to remove risk of conflict with their own party on the floor. But deeper down and more potent than this timidity of the speaker is the influence of the Gorman-Brice-Hill combination. These men willing to have the party set up a great noise and give the impression of doing great things, are silently throwing themselves against the doing of anything. Senator Gorman long ago announced that the party would lose least if it did nothing, and since then he has, in his characteristic, stealthy way, been doing all he could to kill enthusiasm and activity, both of which he deems more dangerous to his own than to the opposing party.

These causes were as well known to the Republicans as to the Democrats, and Mr. Reed and his friends took a malicious delight in jeering at the ultra imbecility of a majority that started out with such loud boastings as did this majority; nor could the handful of Alliance members, voting for the most part with the Democratic side, always repress contempt for such a weak, do-nothing policy; and they declared that if it continued it would elect a large number of Alliance men to the House of Representatives, and give the Alliance delegation the balance of power in that body.

But there were many Democrats who were alive to the serious danger of this policy of inactivity. They were the men who, for the most part, voted for Mills for speaker, and who constituted the radical wing of the House. They favored an aggressive campaign in the House, and were ready from the start to make general war upon the tariff and the protective idea; and whenever they had a chance to speak their utterances were bold and pointed. They chafed at restraint and threatened rebellion.

It was while the radicals in the House were experiencing their just feelings of disgust at the policy of inaction adopted, that Tom L. Johnson came forward with the single tax proposition, and at once attracted attention. Almost every member of the radical wing applauded his introduction of "Protection or Free Trade?" into the Record, as a promise of the long-wished-for activity, and after the book had all appeared, and they had defended its publication against the attack of the Republican side, many of them began to consider the question of the single tax to which the book pointed, and to which the logic of their own argument for the abolition of tariff taxation seemed to lead.

They were urged to this by a much stronger influence, however—an influence that no Congressman fails to heed—the voice of their people at home. Every Democratic member, indeed every member of the House, began to receive letters urging him to work and vote for the Johnson Single Tax bill for the District of Columbia. Nor did the letters stop; they kept pouring in, and not only from their constituencies but from all parts of the country, a man in California, for instance, writing not only to his own Congressman but to a member from New York as well.

In a very short time many of the shining lights on the Democratic side got the impression that the whole country was looking at them, anxious to know what they intended to do about the District single tax bill. One member from West Virginia declared he had had letters from "all over the world." But the members receiving the most letters must have been the thirteen men composing the committee on the District of Columbia, of which John J. Hemphill, of South Carolina, is chairman, and to which Mr. Johnson belongs. John R. Fellows, the eloquent Tammany representative from New York city, is one of these men. He had been overwhelmed with single tax correspondence. He at length walked up to a group, of which Mr. Johnson was one, and said, as if unconscious of Mr. Johnson's presence: "Life was easy until that fellow Johnson turned up with his single tax bill. All joy has fled now, however. I'm getting letters about it till I can't sleep at night."

Every eye in the group at once turned at Mr. Johnson in a sort of "me-too" manner. The member from Ohio smiled in his genial way, but protested that he had nothing to do with the writing of the letters. A day or two later the letter business came to a head in the District Committee. Mr. Johnson raised the subject of his bill to see how many votes he could get for its being favorably reported to the House. Without coming to a final conclusion, he incidentally learned that Colonel Fellows would vote for it; that another Democrat would support it till the hottest of all places froze over; that John T. Heard, of Missouri, a Democrat, would work and vote against it, and that two Republican members would give it their approval. But there was at once a strong chorus about letters. Everybody had received letters, and everybody looked down the table at the member from Ohio.

Mr. Johnson thought it was time to speak. "Gentlemen," said he, "I didn't do it. I have had nothing to do with these letters. You have been hearing from your constituents and from all parts of the country because the single tax question is interesting thousands upon thousands of people all over the United States. I sympathize with you, for I, too, have received a letter. It urges me to vote for my own bill. I hope I may, therefore, be relieved of your suspicion of springing any plan upon you, and I hope I may not be reproached henceforward. If you all will promise not to again refer to letters, I will engage to invite the whole committee to dinner at Chamberlin's."

Chamberlin's, it should be explained, has for years been the great political

ornament of Washington. The whole committee solemnly promised not to say a word about letters; but the very next morning Colonel Fellows met Mr. Johnson and remarked: "Six more single tax letters this morning—but I'm not saying a word."

Of course, all this has in a marked way been drawing attention to the single tax idea. But there has been still other forces at work. The select committee of three, of which Mr. Johnson is chairman, has been turning taxation matters in the District of Columbia inside out, and has made such an exhibition of the beauties of land speculation as has never been seen here before, and the assessors have become frightened at the cold-blooded matter-of-fact way in which Mr. Johnson has proceeded, and have in the course of a few days changed many of the figures of the assessment. They are increasing the assessment in one block over half a million dollars more than the figures they had given the committee but a few days before. Never was a matter so earnestly talked about by "property owners" in the district as this Johnson investigation and the Johnson bill, and one of the assessors observed, as one of the terrible consequences, that many of the larger land owners were talking seriously of at once selling out.

This has produced a very strong impression in the House of Representatives, and many Republicans as well as Democrats have already approached Mr. Johnson to inquire about his ideas, and others to announce that they favor them and will vote for his bill. Thus, it is seen, that just at the lull in party politics, the single tax idea has been brought prominently to the front in Congress, and is making rapid way—and it is likely to push ahead. In a few days the Johnson committee will make a partial report to the House, and will recommend important changes in the assessment laws of the District, and later on an effort will be made to bring the Johnson bill into the House for consideration.

THE GRIP OF THE LANDLORD.

Real Estate Record and Guide.

The Union Club has substantially abandoned for the present its search for an up-town club site. Several plots, out of which a satisfactory location could have been selected, have been offered to the committee, but at prices which were in every instance deemed far in excess of their real value. Coupled with the offers of the various properties were several propositions to rent for periods of from fifty years to several centuries at percentages so low as 3½ per cent. and taxes. But the club has formally rejected the proposition to rent a site, or to accept any upon any other conditions than the outright purchase of the fee. The committee is doing nothing at all.

GROWING IN POWER.

Tacoma (Wash.) News.

Henry George is without doubt the ablest controversialist, the greatest master of statement in this country, possibly in the world. How he was able to maintain the clearness and eloquence of his style notwithstanding his early newspaper training, has long been a wonder to writers. His work instead of failing grows in power. Though he has never written anything greater than "Progress and Poverty"—for that was his philosophy, his economy, his theory, and all else that he has done is dependent upon it—nevertheless his later work is equal in style, power and forcefulness to the best of that master work.

REPERCUSSIVE TAXES.

Commenting on Senator John Sherman's statement "that two-thirds of the voters in cities pay no taxation and have the benefit of the savings of the other third," the Springfield Republican says:

Nominally this may be true, but in reality it is far from the truth. To say that the property taxes of a locality are not loaded in part at least upon tenants in the form of rents, etc., is to say that such taxes have no perceptive quality, or cannot be shifted, and this is at variance with all authorities on the subject. It is a pernicious error, too; for it perpetuates the notion among the nominally non-tax-paying classes that they have no interest in economy and honesty in local administration, when in fact, they have as great an interest as anybody.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts, grand-nephew of Thomas Jefferson, and a Democrat until the free trade movement of 1887 made him a Republican, succeeds Whitelaw Reid as minister to France.

The Republicans refrained from voting and prevented the transaction of business in the House of Representatives, as Speaker Crisp disregarded ex-Speaker Reed's advice to count a quorum.

New York Republicans refused to instruct the Minneapolis delegates for Harrison.

Illinois Democrats endorse Cleveland's administration, and instructed the delegates to Chicago to act as a unit for Palmer should it be determined to select a western man as candidate for President.

Nebraska Republicans instructed the delegation for Harrison. So did the Alabama Republicans.

The New York Legislature, in a short extra session, passed the apportionment bill for Congress and for the Assembly and Senate districts.

President Harrison proclaims the establishment of commercial reciprocity with Honduras from and after May 25.

FOREIGN.

Ravachol, though he confessed in open court that he placed and fired the bomb that killed several persons in Véry's saloon in Paris, was not sentenced to death by the terrified jury, but to life imprisonment.

May day in Europe passed without serious violence. The crowd in Hyde Park, London, was enormous, and socialist speakers received much applause. One anarchist speaker was roughly hustled by the crowd of workingmen.

The British House of Commons rejected the Woman Suffrage bill. Party lines were not drawn, though Mr. Balfour favored it, and Mr. Gladstone, with most of the Irish members, opposed it.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The Single Tax is a tax on land, regardless of its improvements and in proportion to its value. It implies the abolition of all other forms of taxation, and the collection of the public revenue from this source alone. It would be CERTAIN, because land values are most easily appraised; WIDE, because, by discouraging the withdrawal of land from use and encouraging its improvement, it would expand opportunities for labor, augment wealth, and increase the rewards of industry and thrift; FAIR, because every one would pay taxes in proportion to the value of the land, of right the common property of all, which he appropriated to his own use; and JUST, because it would fall not upon labor, enterprise, and thrift, but upon the value of a special privilege. It is more fully explained in the Single Tax Platform in another column; and in "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, every point is discussed and every objection answered.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant as a mount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1881.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1881.

The best and easiest subject of taxation is the thing that performs stays in one place that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1881.

Every one of these taxes for commodities and buildings; the ostensible taxpayer goes upon the successor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1881.

We do not say that it will never be a full-blooded single tax advocate. It abhors it in theory now; it passes only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

The products of individual industry should remain at all times untaxed. Take the annual rental value of land without regard for improvements, no matter what it amounts to. The community could put this fund to better uses than the individual landholders.—St. Louis Chronicle.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

The National Committee is carrying on the newspaper work of the Memphis committee in supplying news companies with single tax matter for their ready prints and plates.

Receipts for week ending May 2:

From S. Mandelsohn, New York City	45 00
From Chicago Newspaper Union, for Single Tax Models	22 50
	27 50
	29 12
	56 02
	52 50
Balance reported last week	41 12
Total	
Less amount paid A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company, for composition, etc.	
Balance on hand	

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The activity of Congressman Johnson has already excited emulation in Congress. Among the members who received letters asking their support for Johnson's single tax bill for the district of Columbia was Congressman Tracy, who, in reply to one of his correspondents, said that he believed in the essential justice of the single tax, but thought it could not be fairly applied to existing land titles. That is a notion of which he will soon be rid. Meantime, however, he has introduced a bill (H. R., 5811), for applying the principle of common ownership to all public lands. This bill provides for granting to the States and territories all federal lands, except reservations and land needed for public buildings, within their respective borders, on condition, among other things, that the States and territories lease the same for cash rental, subject to revision at least once every ten years, in which revision "the improvements made by the tenant shall not be taken into account." Ten per cent. of the annual rentals is to be paid into the federal treasury. The bill declares further that all federal lands shall henceforth be no longer subject to sale, or to entry, settlement or occupation, except as lease as provided in the bill. What a magnificent country this would be if such a law had been in force during the past fifty years!

The increase of land value taxation in Pittsburg, Pa., is producing its effect. Object lessons are so prolific and pointed that single tax men are rapidly increasing in numbers. On the principal business avenue—Penn—fairly good houses are being torn down to make way for appropriate business structures. The quickening of improvement is generally ascribed to the higher land value tax.

QUICKENING IN OTHER PLACES.

W. W. Kile, of Dayton, O., has converted a large majority of the Dayton branch of the American Secular Union to free trade and is now leading them on to the single tax. He had up-hill work at first, but as he goes on it is easier.

We find in the Traverse City, Mich., Eagle a strong letter from "Uncle Tom," of St. Louis, advocating the single tax in the interest of farmers; and the name of J. W. B. Callic, of the Liverpool (England) Reform Association, appears in the Liverpool newspapers as the signature to strong single tax articles.

AT THE CANADIAN CAPITAL.

Last week the single tax was explained to the citizens of Ottawa by J. W. Bengough, of Grip, in a "chalk-talk." Though there were strong counter attractions, a large audience assembled, including a contingent of members of the Dominion Parliament, now in session at Ottawa. It was the general opinion that the man who could hear such a lecture and then misunderstand the single tax must be hopelessly incapable of acquiring a knowledge of public affairs. The questions asked after the lecture indicated that the audience had learned more in the evening than is usually taught by a course of economic lectures. It had been arranged that Mr. S. T. Wood, ex-president of the Toronto Single Tax Association, who is at Ottawa representing the Toronto Globe in the press gallery, should answer the questions, but in his absence a local single taxer undertook that office. Much credit is given to John

Henderson, city clerk, an ardent advocate of the single tax as a fiscal reform, for bringing Mr. Bengough to Ottawa.

EPISCOPAL CLERGYMEN.

All Episcopal clergymen are not like the one to whom we recently referred as having said that "society as it now exists is the work of the Lord Jesus Christ." Father Huntington, Heber Newton and Mr. Adams are well-known New York examples of a better way of regarding society, and we are informed of two Episcopal clergymen in Pittsburg, Rev. W. R. Mackay, of St. Peter's, and the Rev. Geo. Hodges, at the East End, who, although many of their parishioners are rich, are boldly proclaiming a gospel of equal rights. In a series of sermons on "The Christian," lately delivered by Dr. Hodges, the preacher said that Christianity consists not so much in being within the pale of the church as in believing in the brotherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that it is a Christian duty to ameliorate and, if possible, to destroy the horrible evil of poverty—that condition of constant toil for mere subsistence which forbids gratification of the aspirations of man's higher nature. To cure this evil, he said, the Christian will never relax his efforts until the remedy is found, for "it cannot be that the Almighty Maker of all has doomed so large a portion of the race to this wearying and unending struggle for bread."

Another Episcopal clergyman, though he does not see the remedy, sees clearly that poverty is the fundamental evil, and that landlordism is the cause. We refer to the Rev. Dr. De Costa, who, in a sermon on the vice and crime of New York, is reported as saying:

How has so vast a proportion of people become lewd, thievish and drunken? Poverty lies behind it all. This is largely due to the system of taxation and landholding which impoverishes and overfills our cities, consumes wages, leaving a large portion of the people to live herded together, so that decency and virtue are impossible. There are among us 50,000 vicious women, and about five times as many bad men. The present social order, with our great millionaires at the head of it, is simply a vice-producing order, and by the present arrangement we are turning out supplies of criminals.

The Rev. John W. Kramer sees the remedy as well as the evils. Addressing the New York Churchmen's Association on the relations of clergymen to municipal reform, while deplored the introduction of politics in the pulpit when it tears a congregation to pieces, he urged that elsewhere a clergyman should claim his citizenship, and that he should especially seek opportunity to impress upon wage earners who do not own homes the truth that the city is theirs as much as it is the city of others. This they may not see now, but, said Dr. Kramer, "when they shall demand the single tax and get it; when—as then will be the result—the tenement house disappears or becomes converted into a hotel of convenience, comfort and brightness, and—as also will be the result—all monopolies which meet the requirements of a city are in municipal possession, the great wage-earning class will know that the city is theirs, and appreciate the common ownership with all its privilege and responsibilities." This reference to the single tax drew out an interesting discussion:

AMONG THE ORGANIZATIONS.

The single tax men of Indiana will hold a conference of the State League at Mansfield Hall on the 25th of May, to which all the single tax people of the State are invited.

At the last regular meeting for the season of the Single Tax League of Minneapolis, P. J. Smalley of St. Paul read a paper on "The Relations of Jeffersonian Democracy to the Single Tax," and W. M. Campbell, also of St. Paul, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, made a vigorous speech for democracy pure and simple. A series of resolutions, presented by P. B. Winston and A. M. Goodrich of the league, were adopted. The resolutions urged assessors to "lay as light a burden as the law will permit on those whose property is improved and used, and make the taxes upon unimproved land as high as upon the improved land of equal values." They also recommended that present laws be changed so that all railroad lands shall be taxed the same as other lands about them; and that such changes be made in the constitution and laws of the State as will permit the people of any municipality or county, for local purposes, to remove all taxes now laid upon personal property or improvements, or both, and collect from the holders of idle lands as much taxes as they take from those who have improved their lands and made them useful. These resolutions were indorsed by a large number of citizens, including some of the leading business men.

F. D. Clark, of Midland, Mich., a delegate to the Michigan Democratic Convention, is a single tax advocate who has given vitality to the subject in Midland by means of a discussion in the Republican party. He has set people to talking and taking sides.

The Current Topics Club of Omaha, Neb., which flourishes under the patronage of the Young Men's Christian Association, and is the most important club of Omaha, has during the season just closed discussed most of the important questions of public interest, and the single tax has crept into nearly every discussion. At first there was a manifest prejudice against it, but gradually prejudice gave way to patience and patience yielded to comparative popularity. The question was considered for three successive meetings to the exclusion of everything else. It is needless to say that the single taxers captured and held the fort. At the last meeting the question was, "Should there be a radical change in the administration of city government?" J. W. Evans, a prominent lawyer, opened in behalf of the affirmative, and after analyzing the present system and showing its stupidity and short-sighted selfishness, suggested the simple and effective remedy of the single tax, and the assumption by cities of functions such as furnishing water, light and transportation, functions that are now farmed out, and the fruitful source of much of the corruption complained of. Not a word was said in opposition. On the contrary, Mr. Kilpatrick, a leading wholesale merchant and one of the most respected citizens, who led the negative, said he had only favorable words for the "Henry George system." Rev. Mr. Crane, of the Methodist church, also a single tax man, supported Mr. Evans in the affirmative.

For three years J. W. Garwood and Theodore Wheaton have quietly spread the doctrine in and about Troy, Ohio, and patiently awaited results. They are now rewarded beyond their expectations. A branch of the Single Tax Prop-

ganda Association has just been formed in Troy, with fifty members and flattering prospects of a rapid increase; in fact such is the avidity with which the doctrine is grasped in that community, that a membership of a thousand is confidently expected before the winter. It is in the air, and in A. F. Broomhall it has found a leader. Mr. Broomhall, though a young man, is a lawyer whose brilliancy has placed him at the head of his profession in the community where he practices. He commands universal respect, and his influence is extensive. A prominent, if not the most prominent, leader of the Republican party in Troy, he is, nevertheless, a Cleveland man. Judging from what we hear of Mr. Broomhall, he will soon be better known, and working in a wider field.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club of New York has moved to more commodious quarters at 137 East Twenty-sixth street, on the same block with its former home. The entire building will be devoted to club purposes, and the habitues of the club are anxious to have all the members visit the house, and take a deeper personal interest in the affairs of the organization.

The single tax men of Battle Creek, Mich., have formed a club, of which Alexander Burnham is president; L. C. Rogers, vice-president; E. Van Winkle, treasurer; F. E. S. Tucker, secretary; and E. L. Slater, William Marsh, and W. J. Marsh are trustees. It is intended to hold a public meeting at an early day, to be addressed by well-known single tax speakers.

Albert Cridge spoke on the 24th before the San Francisco Club, his subject being "Distinction Between Individual and Collective Functions." Public single tax meetings were begun on the Boston Common on the 24th, and will continue through the summer. The speakers at the first meeting were Milton, White, Lothrop, Turner and Burhenne.

The Worcester Single Tax Club was addressed last week by Elizabeth Stowe Twitchell, of Wollaston Heights, on "Wealth and Its Factors." The audience, which was composed largely of ladies, was delighted with Mrs. Twitchell's clear reasoning, and charmed by the spirit of human sympathy which animated her. On the 8th, Dr. W. Symington Brown, of Stoneham, Mass., will speak to the club on "Life, Land, and Labor."

Louis F. Post will lecture for the single tax club of Meriden, Conn., on the 27th, at the town hall.

On the 27th of last month John Lavis presented the single tax in its local aspect at the regular weekly meeting in Neponset, Mass.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

F. Latus is enlightening the people of Bozeman, Montana, through the Avant Courier of that place; and a lively discussion is going on in the Sentinel of Stoughton, Mass., in the course of which a writer, signing himself "Single Tax," has called the attention of farmers to some considerations which are calculated to secure their favorable attention.

The Reading, Pa., Morning Herald, in commenting on a statement made at the New York real estate banquet, to the effect that though the whole of Manhattan Island was once bought for \$24, some of it has been recently sold at the rate of \$27 a square inch, asks this pertinent and penetrating question: "Who made land in New York worth \$27 an inch, and who has gotten hold of the proceeds?"

The Hamilton (Ont.) Evening Times knows why men are idle. It concludes a careful editorial article on the subject with this paragraph:

Our whole system of laws is devised in the interest of those who desire to get wealth without laboring to produce it. The system was borrowed in block from England, where it was perfected by landlord parliaments, working generation after generation with one end in view—the spoliation of the working masses by the leading classes. Canadians have tolerated this fraudulent system for a century. Those who couldn't find working ground without too much effort in old Canada went to the western States, or in late years to Manitoba. But ungrabbed land is now becoming scarce all over the continent, and the necessity of applying the legal remedy becomes daily more apparent. A sensible system of taxation, which parliaments will enact when voters insist upon it, will send speculators flying like chaff before the wind. No other question in Canadian politics approaches this one in importance. Tax the grabbers and speculators heavily, and they will get out and make room for men who want to work—the only men who are of any real use to Canada.

The Erie (Penn.) Evening Herald, in an able editorial article on the taxation of farmers, puts the question in a new light, and one which is likely to make the eyes of farmers blink. It shows that farms located at any distance from towns and cities have no site value; that their value consists almost, if not entirely, in the value of improvements, from which it argues: "That the taxes that the occupiers of the lands pay on the ground, exclusive of the tax on the improvements, is assessed on a valuation which does not exist," and concludes that, under such circumstances, the farmers as a class cannot be in a prosperous condition.

At the billion-dollar dinner of New York real estate men at Delmonico's a reverend Mr. Lloyd drew out great applause and cheering by saying that the moment you make a man the owner of his own home he ceases to be an anarchist or socialist, whereupon the Cincinnati Post asks if he does not know that "in Hamilton county, State of Ohio, for instance, and in the city of Cincinnati, landlordism has increased over 98 per cent. in the last ten years?" and that "thousands in Ohio who owned their homes ten years ago are but poor tenants to-day?"

The Northwestern Labor Union, of Minneapolis, sees through a ladder much better than does the Knights of Labor Journal. The Journal had pointed to the late Tory leader, W. H. Smith, as an example of a monopolist whose fortune was due to no special legislation, and as presenting a case which no tariff reform or land taxation or free competition could reach. Mr. Smith made his fortune through a monopoly of the sale of papers and books at railway book stalls. That he enjoyed a legislative monopoly through the railways on which such monopoly was conferred, was plain, and the Union plainly states it. It says:

A railway company is an "imperium in imperio," a government within a government, which is able to and does exercise the functions of a true government, and issues special privileges and creates monopolies in precisely the same manner as true governments do. And this is just how it was that Mr. Smith was able to amass his enormous fortune. The English government surrendered a large part of its sovereignty to the railway corporations, and they in turn conferred upon Mr. Smith a small part of the sovereignty they had received from the government, and by just this

special privilege derived from government was Mr. Smith able to accumulate his enormous fortune, and if the government were to do as the single tax men ask, and simply abolish the special privilege it has conferred on the railway companies, Mr. Smith's monopoly would fall to pieces along with the railway monopoly which fathered it.

The rush of 60,000 individuals into the recently opened Indian reservations has brought the Cincinnati Post, as Methodists would say, "under conviction." In a single week, it says, men acquire there, "by mere force of aggregation of population, about 1,000 per cent. of Mr. George's unearned increment, and the man who is lucky enough to induce a couple of thousand of settlers to camp around his one little stake will suddenly find his land worth a small fortune, and that without a day's work on it either."

The Farmers' Alliance department of the Cincinnati Golden Rule, which is in charge of Geo. C. Ward, who is distinguished for the readiness of his pen rather than the accuracy of his thought, having been called to order by Cliff S. Walker for teaching that land value taxes are shifted from owners to users, the editor of the paper not only disclaims Mr. Ward's unique doctrine, but flatly asserts that the paper is not opposed to the single tax.

The effects of the Reading Railroad deal are beginning to be felt. The output of coal has been arbitrarily diminished, thus throwing thousands of miners out of employment and reducing their demands for other things, and the price has been arbitrarily raised. The New York Herald has made a feature of the situation, and among other valuable services in the matter it has interviewed Congressmen as to possible remedies. Its correspondent expresses his astonishment at finding "the great hold that Henry George's single tax idea has obtained upon Congressmen, particularly from the south and west," and he gives one of these interviews as a sample. It was with Lawrence McGann, a member from Illinois, who was not before known as a single tax man. Mr. McGann said:

I am not able to see how we can reach these people. They have a right to limit the output of coal, raise its price, cut down the wages of their employees or discharge them, and Congress is powerless. The only way I can think of to get them by the nape of the neck and make them appreciate that there is a God in Israel is to apply to them the Henry George remedy of the single tax.

The Indianapolis Journal imagines it has found a mare's nest in the single tax parts of "Protection or Free Trade?" which Congressmen Johnson, Fithian, Washington, Bowman, and Simpeon introduced in their speeches, and it commends these parts to the farmers of Indiana. The Journal supposes, of course, that the farmers will be indignant, but that is because it does not understand what the single tax is. The farmers will understand it as soon as they read this best of all Congressional documents ever published, and we are grateful to the Journal for commanding it to their attention.

TOLSTOI'S SENTIMENTS.

In a letter to the Philadelphia Times, Rudolph Blankenburg, of whom Justice says that he is a strong protectionist and all-round restrictionist, relates a conversation with Tolstoi in which, answering one of Tolstoi's questions, Mr. Blankenburg expressed his lack of faith in the single tax. But he adds:

Count Tolstoi did not subscribe to our opinion, and, while he hardly committed himself to Henry George, one could see that he was deeply impressed with his ideal, and had carefully weighed in his mind the pros and cons of the new gospel of taxation. He had indeed talked about it and discussed it with a number of the more intelligent peasants of his neighborhood, and stated that many of them were quite interested in the question and looked at it favorably. But as this subject, like that of the tariff, leads to interminable debate, it was dropped to make place for one of even greater import, that of land ownership, with particular reference to alien ownership.

As Justice well says: "Blankenburg's remark that in the course of the conversation the single tax question was dropped to make place for one of even greater import, that of 'land ownership,' shows that he knows nothing about the single tax, and is not competent to discuss it."

ENGLISH RED HERRINGS.

In England a squad of land reformers called the "Leasehold Enfranchisement Association" are beating a little drum, and making a small parade in front of the battle for land restoration, now about beginning in British politics. Their scheme, as a correspondent writes, is to substitute "a large army of petty landlords for a small citadel of great ones." But, they will cut no figure, though they excite Tory sympathy. The Liberals will doubtless win at the general election. Then comes Home Rule, and fast upon that, perhaps along with it, will come the single tax.

LESSONS FOR ECONOMIC READING CIRCLES.

VII. MONEY.—Money is a common medium of trade. It is not one form of wealth, but an order upon the community redeemable in any form which the possessor of the money demands. When money is in use, whoever wants to trade a hat for shoes need not find some one who has shoes and also wants a hat; all that he need do is first to find some one who has money but prefers a hat, and then to find some one who has shoes but prefers money. And since the people who want money, which as a common medium of trade is in effect anything in the circle of trade, are so many, as compared with those who at a given time want shoes, money infinitely diminishes the difficulties of trading.

Money is also a common denominator of values. Without it we should be compelled to express the value of each thing in the terms of all other things. We should have to say, for example, that a hat has the value of a pair of shoes, or of a chair, or of an umbrella, and so on; that a pair of shoes has the value of a hat, or of a chair, or of an umbrella, and so on; that a chair has the value of an umbrella, or of a pair of shoes, or of a hat, and so on; and that an umbrella has the value of a hat, or of a pair of shoes, or of a chair, or of an umbrella, and so on. But money obviates the necessity for the multifarious comparisons which are here merely hinted at. It enables us to say that a hat, a pair of shoes, a chair, and an umbrella are each worth \$5, or a pound, or twenty-five francs, or twenty marks, according to the names of the money symbols in use where we trade.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Division A—Miss Hannah D. Mowry, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Kindergarten Association appeals for money for its work, saying in its circular that it aims to remove, so far as it is in human power to do so, some of the causes of poverty and crime. Miss Mowry is a leader in this movement, and may not understand what the chief cause of poverty and crime is.

Division B—The Baltimore News has an editorial, April 17, on the depletion of public lands, and advises restriction of immigration as the only action that can "avert the fatal vitiation of our yeomanry and the unhealthy competition of pauper labor in our cities."

Division C—Rev. John Galbraith, Highland Church, Warren street, Roxbury, Mass., preached April 6 on the unhappy political and social condition of the world. Says the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer, but believes reform must be through religion.

Division D—Rev. J. B. Haines, Cape May City, N. J., recognizes that the worker does not receive his just dues because of wrong social conditions, but believes the best chance of reform lies in co-operation.

Division E—Edwin Ginn, 13 Tremont place, Boston, of Ginn & Co., publishes, April 1, to the Boston Journal on the "Problem of the Poor." In it he shows that he understands that low assessment of vacant land causes higher rents, but proposes as a partial remedy for the discrimination against the poor, that societies shall be formed to build tenement houses at lower rents and to sell food at a smaller profit.

Divisions F and G—Rev. W. P. Tenbroeck, La Crosse, Wis., is a progressive man in the Episcopal Church and ought to be a single taxer.

Divisions H and I—Hon. Owen Scott, House of Representatives, Fourteenth Illinois District, Washington, D. C. Is not antagonistic to the single tax, and should be urged to study it, and then consider the District of Columbia bill favorably. His constituency are chiefly farmers and he may fear the single tax is prejudicial to them.

Division J—J. B. Niles, Wellsboro, Pa.

Division K—Leonard Rhoads, Centre Hall, Pa.

Divisions N and O—Gerard C. Brown, York, Pa. These gentlemen are members of the Pennsylvania Tax Conference held at Harrisburg, February 4th. This body is to prepare amendments to the tax laws of Pennsylvania.

Division L—Hon. F. B. Norton, Burlington, Wis., protectionist, writes on agricultural subjects, especially wool. Was a clergyman. Tracts showing the ethical side might help him.

Division M—The Woman's Tribune, of Beatrice, Neb., seems never to have heard what the single tax would do for the advancement of women. Letters on various reforms are published in this paper, and some on the single tax ought to be welcomed.

New York, 1674 Broadway. MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL, Secretary.

WHAT THE GRANGERS NEED.

Commenting on a foolish taxation bill, proposed by grangers in Oregon the Portland Oregonian says:

If the grangers had labored naturally they would have discovered that the simplest way of doing a thing is the most fair and equal way, and they would have resolved that a single tax on land values, irrespective of improvements, was the very thing they were in search of and greatly in need of.

JERRY'S PLAN.

Lawrence (Kan.) Jeffersonian.

Free trade absolute is Jerry Simpson's idea of tariff revision. But money must be obtained from some source. If the tariff system is abolished direct taxation must be substituted. A demand for free trade must be accompanied with some plan for raising revenue.—Kansas City Times.

And Jerry has a plan, which is to shift taxation from poverty and labor to the wealth of the country, by taking in taxation for public purposes those monopoly values created by the public—monopoly of valued lands etc., mines, corporate franchises, etc., which are produced by the joint presence and labor of the entire community, but which now go to make millionaires. This plan, originated by Henry George and advocated by Mr. Simpson, would give us free trade, free homes, and free men. Does the Times object to it?

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

WEIGHT OF PURE GOLD IN COINS.

Gen. Champion, of Jefferson, Col., asks whether one who presents rolled gold at the mint receives therefor as much weight of pure gold in coins as was in his bullion, or must suffer a charge or deduction for cost of alloy in coins or for expense of coinage.

They receive of fine gold in coin exactly the same weight that they deposit. There is no coinage charge, but a charge of two cents per ounce is made for the copper alloy.

ONE TAX ENOUGH.

Harold Harmer, of Ottawa, Ont., says that in an argument with a professor at Kingston University the professor spoke of a writer of the name of Walter Giffin, considered as a high authority, who asserts that the ground rent of all England would fall \$200,000,000 short of the amount required for governmental purposes each year. Mr. Harmer wants to know the facts about this.

The writer referred to is Robert Giffin, not Walter Giffin, and the professor should be required to name his authority for stating that Mr. Giffin ever made such an assertion. With good reason for saying so, we do not believe he ever did. Mallock, a skyrocket and volunteer special pleader for the privileged classes, has made some such statement. But Mr. Mallock is without reputation for anything but fine rhetoric. No statement of fact nor any conclusion from facts would be accepted on his authority. Thomas G. Stearns has carefully considered the whole question of the sufficiency of the single tax, and in "One Tax Enough," published in the Single Tax Library, he shows that the cost of government everywhere is less than two-thirds of ground rent.

OBJECT LESSONS.

This department contains facts, gathered from all parts of the world, that are of current interest and permanent value, and illustrate social and political problems. Information from trustworthy sources is solicited.

FAVORING THE PRIVILEGED.

At a recent meeting of the Detroit City Council an ordinance has been passed requiring property owners to lay stone sidewalks in front of their dwellings. Some objection was made to the form of the ordinance, inasmuch as, when taken in connection with other and unrepealed ordinances allowing the first sidewalks laid to be of plank, it favored the owners of vacant land in the city along which sidewalks had not yet been laid. In the course of the discussion Alderman Lowrey said:

I don't think it is right for the Cass estate, or any other estate, to hold property out of use and get the benefit of a rise in values due to other's work without doing its share in the way of improvements. I don't think it is fair to let that estate lay plank sidewalks when others must lay stone sidewalks.

Point was given to Mr. Lowrey's remarks by the insertion in the very issue of the Detroit Journal that published them of a real estate agent's advertisement containing the following excellent advice and useful information:

Don't keep your money in the bank at a miserable 4 per cent. interest when you can invest it in Detroit suburban real estate and make 15 or 20 per cent. Think of the vast fortunes made in Detroit real estate. In fact, nearly all our greatest fortunes had their origin in real estate investments. What made George Cass so rich? The Cass farm. Where did the Brush estate get its immense wealth? From the Brush farm.

PERSONAL.

Richard Spencer was born on the bank of the Susquehanna River, in the village of Jersey Shore, Lycoming county, Penn., October 26, 1823. His father was of English and his mother of Scotch-Irish descent. From about four to fourteen years of age Mr. Spencer attended such schools as the little village afforded. At the age of fourteen, in 1837, his father

removed to Ohio, and there the son had for a few months the advantages of a better common school. In 1840 his father bought timber land in Jay county, Indiana, to which the family removed. Here all were subjected to the hardships of a frontier life. Without schools or churches, without social advantages, without books or papers, or any of those helps and refining influences that constitute social life as it exists to-day in most parts of the country, he spent five years, with nothing but hard, dreary toil during the week, relieved by an occasional coon-hunt at night, to break the monotony.

During this period, in 1842, he taught a public school in a country place in Adams county, at a very small salary, boarding around with the pupils. In 1845 he returned to Green County, Ohio, taught a country school there, and did farm work. Soon after he went to Lebanon, Ohio, and after familiarizing himself anew with the trade of saddle and harness making, begun years before, he set up in business. He was married in 1849. Kept hotel one year; then moved to Piqua, Ohio, and soon after connected himself with the management of a threshing machine manufactory. In 1856 he moved to Burlington, Iowa, to pursue the same business. The panic of 1857 crushed this all out. In 1859 he was invited to take charge of the gas business in Burlington, and to this business, as superintendent, secretary, manager and president, he has devoted most of his life. He is now president of two companies.

Born a Democrat, he acted with that party until 1854, when the slavery question broke out anew, and he severed his connection with that party and joined the early organizers of the Republican party. He was an ardent and active Republican until the nomination of Grant for the second term. Dissatisfied with its growing corruptions and the arrogant demands of the selfseekers he joined the liberal Republicans, and voted for Greeley, which was somewhat distasteful on account of Greeley's known extreme protection views. Being always a free trader he has acted since, though under protest, mostly with the Democratic party.

For twenty-five years, fully recognizing that something was radically wrong in our social organism, Mr. Spencer thought much and read much, seeking a solution of the problem. In the winter of 1879-80 he read an able review in the Popular Science Monthly of a new book about to be published by the Appletons, entitled "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George. Securing the book he read it eagerly, and found the long-sought solution. Learning therefrom that Mr. George resided in San Francisco he at once wrote him, and received a prompt reply expressing gratification that "a man in the middle of the continent was interested in the book." Since then he has been an active worker to advance the cause of the single tax, contributing both time and money. While our esteemed friend and efficient worker, Warren Worth Bailey, may feel proud of and is justly entitled to the credit of publishing the first single tax newspaper, Mr. Spencer claims the distinction of being the first single tax man between the Allegheny and the Rocky Mountains.

The Rev. Charles H. Mann, a New Church minister and the editor of the New Church Messenger, is a member of the Orange (N. J.) branch of the Single Tax Propaganda Association. His eldest son, Horace H. Mann, is the winner of the \$1,000 Columbia College Traveling Fellowship in Archi-



ture this year. The competitors were graduates of the School of Mines, under 30 years of age. His second son, C. Riborg Mann, also holds a Columbia fellowship.

The Literary Digest reproduces from the April Arena Henry George, Jr.'s paper on the "Speakership in England and America."

W. E. Norton is doing giant work and securing great results, both for free trade and the single tax, in Benton County, Oregon. He works through the Democratic party.

Edward H. Bailey, for two years editor of the Bloomington (Ill.) Daily Leader, one of the prominent protectionist journals of Illinois, is now in business for himself at Normal, Illinois, a city of considerable size adjoining Bloomington. Mr. Bailey, who is a radical free trader and a pioneer in the single tax movement, is now half owner of the Normal Advocate, a prosperous weekly journal published in the growing college city. He is the editor of the paper, and promises to do some effective work for the cause.

Mrs. Marshall Beck, wife of Lawyer Beck, says the Chicago Journal, is well-known as a writer of verse that rises to the dignity of genuine poetry. She has been a member of the Single Tax Club of Chicago since its organization, and is a close and enthusiastic student of social and economic questions.

At the first Democratic meeting of the campaign in Danville, Va., Eugene Withers was elected city superintendent of the party. Mr. Withers is a well known single tax worker.

Congressman Funston, of Kansas, has earned the gratitude of posterity by combining two familiar quotations into a more expressive "familiar quotation." Complaining of some action of his colleagues toward himself, he said: "You leave me suspended like Mahomet's ghost, between the devil and the deep sea."

Richard Dalton, of Ralls county, Mo., is the choice of the single tax men of his State for Governor at the next election. He is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the General Assembly of Missouri, and is an intelligent and tireless advocate of radical reform in taxation.

The Toledo, Oregon, Alliance has George's works in the circulating library, and they are said to be never idle.

The very best contribution to the May Forum is Ulysses D. Eddy's paper on "My Business Partner, the Government." As interesting as a novel, it shows how the custom house confronts the merchant in whichever direction he turns, and confuse his calculations, to thwart his plans, and to fleece his customers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

—J. T. Ripley writes from Chicago: Mr. Chancellor's objection to the single tax argument (as land values are created by society they should be taken by and used for society), that society creates all value, and, therefore, reasoning on this line, society could justly take all values for public uses, has, it seems to me, sufficient plausibility to warrant further attention.

There is this difference between land values and the values of all other commodities: Before there can be value there must be utility or desirability in the objects to which value attaches, and land differs from all other things in that its desirability is due not to individual human exertion but to original qualities, natural location, and to the presence and activities of society; whereas, in all other valuable things there is a clearly distinguishable element of individual human service which single tax men recognize as being inviolable and propose to relieve from all tribute. Surely the difference between the source of the value of a section of land and that of the produce that is raised upon it must be apparent to any unprejudiced mind. As the single tax would not result in any increase in government functions, but on the contrary would reduce them by doing away with the customs and internal revenue systems, there seems no reason to call it socialism, spelled with a large "S." The advocates of socialism, who may be presumed to be the best able to define the term, certainly do not regard the single tax as socialism even with a small "s."

Mr. Chancellor seems to attempt to identify the single tax unlimited with thoroughgoing communism, in which the value of all possessions shall be used for public purposes; but the present system, under which society presumes to take from individuals a part of that which they have personally produced, is much more open to the charge than that one under which the burdens are to be removed from all goods and revenue raised by taking the annual rental value of land for public purposes.

—D. Allison writes from San Francisco, Cal.: In an article published in THE STANDARD of March 30, Mr. Doblin says the only way in which a rich man can dodge his proper and just proportion of the burdens of government under the land value tax is by owning no valuable land, nor any interest in valuable land, and refraining from spending or using his wealth.

It looks as if this language of Mr. Doblin might rise up and haunt him in the not distant future. We single taxers out here on the other side of sundown believe that each one of us has an equal right to the use of land, and having an equal right to the use of land, we have a right to an equal share of the rent of the common inheritance, and if our equal share be taken for public use, then we will each have contributed equally to the support of government, regardless of the area or quality of land used. Therefore, we claim that "the land value tax" cannot be dodged, and is the most equitable apportionment of the cost of government yet devised.

THE COTTAGE AND THE MANSION.

Detroit News.

"Suppose I have a \$1,000 house alongside Mayor Pingree's \$30,000 mansion," says Inquirer, "would it be right to tax me as much as him?"

The answer is, yes, if the lots occupied by the \$1,000 and the \$30,000 houses are equally valuable. And for these reasons:

1. The value of the lots was made by the community; therefore, to tax them to their full value will deprive neither Inquirer nor Mayor Pingree of any wealth their exertions have produced.

2. The improvements on the lots are due solely to the exercise of human

exertion of some kind. In one case it may be limb labor; in another case it may be mind labor; in a third case it may be a combination of limb and mind labor. In all cases, whatever is produced is due to work—industry—and whatever is saved is due to prudence and economy. The evil of the present system of taxation is that it taxes industry, and, therefore, discourages it. Now, to take the tax off industry will enable Inquirer to build a better house on the valuable lot he occupies. It will do this in several ways; by relieving him of other taxes, and, therefore, while increasing his taxes on his lot, abolishing it on his house, on his plant, if he is a small manufacturer; on his purchases, and, therefore, reducing their price, and at the same time increasing the value of his labor through the larger market and steadier work that would follow the freeing of industry from all burdens.

If the proprietor of the house assessed at \$1,000 alongside of the house assessed at \$30,000 would look at it in another way he would cease to repine. Suppose that the adjoining lot to himself, which is of the same value as his own, has on it a still poorer house than his. The house owned by the poorest man of the two is a small, dilapidated shanty, which is assessed at \$100. The poorest man also don't see the justice of having his home taxed the same as the \$1,000 and the \$30,000 house. Suppose, too, that the lot adjoining the poorest man's lot is vacant. The owner, of course, will object to being taxed the same as the man who owns homes assessed at \$100, \$1,000 and \$30,000 respectively, while his ground is innocent of human habitation. It is this short-sighted idea of paying taxes on all property, whether made by nature or by human labor, that has oppressed mankind through all the ages, and has caused a large portion of the misery of the world. It is a policy which, more than any other, builds palaces for the few and condemns the many to life-long poverty.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

THE STANDARD is a weekly paper of sixteen pages, and is the leading single tax and free trade periodical of the world. Its subscription price is \$3.00 a year, payable in advance.

Standard Extension List for 1892.—To introduce THE STANDARD to new readers, the publisher will receive from persons not already subscribers' subscriptions for 1892 at \$1.00. This offer is not for one year, but for the period from date of receipt of subscription to the last issue of 1892.

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CIRCULATION OF "THE STANDARD."

Regular subscriptions received this week.....	20
Extension " " "	46
Trial " " "	99
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Total subscriptions for week ending May 2.....	165
Unexpired subscriptions.....	5,603
Sales, etc.....	550
On hand for future sales.....	150
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Total circulation, issue of May 4.....	6,448
Less exchange and free list.....	304
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TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION.....	6,164

For the purpose of enabling regular subscribers to see whether or not their respective States are sufficiently represented in the Extension List, we give the list by States. We make no comment; each subscriber may make his own. The list is as follows:

Alabama.....	6	Mississippi.....	4
Arkansas.....	11	Montana.....	14
California.....	62	Nebraska.....	30
Canada.....	135	New Hampshire.....	15
Colorado.....	41	New Jersey.....	141
Connecticut.....	70	New Mexico.....	15
Delaware.....	13	New York.....	458
District of Columbia.....	42	North Carolina.....	4
Foreign.....	8	North Dakota.....	2
Florida.....	10	Ohio.....	121
Georgia.....	9	Oklahoma Territory.....	2
Illinois.....	112	Oregon.....	31
Indiana.....	24	Pennsylvania.....	164
Indian Territory.....	1	Rhode Island.....	45
Iowa.....	127	South Dakota.....	15
Idaho.....	1	Texas.....	47
Kansas.....	39	Tennessee.....	27
Kentucky.....	16	Utah.....	8
Louisiana.....	12	Vermont.....	7
Maryland.....	6	Virginia.....	18
Massachusetts.....	163	West Virginia.....	9
Missouri.....	85	Wisconsin.....	20
Maine.....	43	Washington.....	53
Minnesota.....	151	Wyoming.....	2
Michigan.....	136	Total.....	2,628
Mexico.....	2		

Persons, not now subscribers, who receive this issue of THE STANDARD and wish to subscribe for the year 1892, for one dollar, may do so by forwarding the money to THE STANDARD, 42 University place, New York City.

All such subscribers will receive in addition to the paper, his choice from all of Henry George's works in the best paper bound edition.

The paper will be sent for four weeks on trial to any address for ten cents.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

SOMETHING ABOUT FISH.

ALICE CHITTENDEN.

It is my purpose to avoid giving hackneyed recipes as well as those involving such care, skill and labor as would necessitate the keeping of a thoroughly trained cook, knowing from experience that good servants are rare, and believing that "It is not all of life to cook," to slightly alter the good old hymn.

Shad is the present delicacy, and will be in market for some time to come. Every one knows how to broil a shad, but all may not know this method, which was told me by a celebrated cook: Remove the backbone, which may be easily done with a sharp knife; lay the fish between the buttered bars of a gridiron, put the inside to the fire first, keeping it with this side to the fire until nearly done, and brushing it over with melted butter twice during the cooking; then turn and brown the skin. If the skin be left next the fire long it will burn and blacken and so impart a scorched taste to the fish. Now lay it inside uppermost on a hot dish, put bits of butter, some pepper, salt, a tablespoonful of very finely minced parsley and a teaspoonful of lemon juice over it, and if you would add beauty to excellence, garnish with water cress and slices of lemon or with slices of cucumber when in season. Cucumbers are a delightful relish with many kinds of fish. They may be sliced and eaten with salt and pepper only, or with an added dressing of vinegar and oil.

The male shad, considered by epicures to be the best flavored, are always from fifteen to thirty cents less than the roe shad. Do not let your fish merchant throw away the male, but wash them in cold water, wipe dry, roll in flour and fry quickly in just enough fat to keep them from burning. When delicately browned you may dish them with the fish, helping each to a portion, or you may mask them with a little butter, minced parsley, salt, pepper and lemon juice, and use them as a sauce for the fish.

When shad begin to get so cheap that I can afford to buy the roe shad, I frequently do so, much as I prefer the male fish, just for the sake of the roe, from which so many delicious entrées can be made. They are nice broiled on a buttered gridiron, and seasoned and garnished as you did the fish. By the way, this very simple sauce, composed of butter, minced parsley, pepper, salt and lemon juice, is called *maitre d'hôtel*, and notwithstanding its simplicity and high-sounding name, it is one of the best sauces for fried or broiled fish, as well as for chops and cutlets of various kinds.

To make croquettes of the roe, boil them in salted water for fifteen minutes; lift out, remove the skin and mash the roe with the back of a wooden spoon. Meantime, bring a cup of rich milk to a boil, chicken with two rounded tablespoonfuls of flour, add a tablespoonful of butter, and when smooth and thick the beaten yolks of two eggs must be stirred in very slowly to prevent curdling; add also the mashed roe; season with pepper, salt, minced parsley, a bit of butter and a little lemon juice. When cold, form into croquettes, and cook in the same way as directed for real croquettes in *THE STANDARD* of April 30.

Considering the rapidity with which fish multiply, it would seem that they should be as plentiful and almost as free as air. There is some show of reason in the high price of Kennebec salmon and certain other kinds of fish, which are either rare or are brought to New York markets from a great distance, but dealers are responsible for the fact that, in the height of the season, shad, blackfish and many other kinds are not sold at lower rates. Last summer whole boat-loads of blue fish were thrown into the bay by New York dealers who were unwilling to let the price without obstruction follow the laws of supply and demand. A notable exception to such iniquitous proceedings was that of Mr. Eugene Blackford, at Fulton Market, who, receiving last week an extra large shipment of green turtles from Central America, immediately put down the price of green turtle steaks to ten and twelve cents a pound. Probably but for this unusual act I should never have felt called upon to experiment with the cooking of this delicacy.

When the steaks are broiled they only require

a seasoning of butter, pepper and salt, and an accompaniment of some tart jelly. To fry them, dip in crumble, then in beaten egg, and again in crumble; use a frying pan with a small diameter, so that you can afford to have it half full of boiling butter. As soon as they are done, transfer them to brown paper laid on an earthen dish to free them from fat while you cook the rest. When all are cooked leave about two tablespoonfuls of the butter in the pan, add half a cup of hot milk, thicken with flour and season to taste. Butter or fat, in which any kind of fish is fried, should be strained and set aside for future use. Tomato sauce is also served with fried green turtle steaks.

A dish of scalloped lobster is most excellent and very simple. You may use fresh boiled lobsters, or, if they are not practicable, the canned article, not forgetting in this case to open the can and turn the contents into a china bowl an hour before using. For a two-pound lobster or its equivalent, make a pint of white sauce; butter a pudding dish, spread bottom and sides thickly with stale bread crumble; (a five-cent loaf of stale bread will be required, as the layers of crumbs should be a quarter of an inch deep); fill with alternate layers of crumbs and lobsters cut in small pieces, and season each layer with salt and pepper. The top layer should be of crumbs, and before adding it pour in the sauce. Dot with bits of butter and set in a quick oven for fifteen minutes to brown. Cooked in small china cases, or in callop shells, this makes a very pretty and simple fish course for a company dinner.

As I have used this phrase before, and probably shall use it again, I would like to explain what I mean by it. I do not myself believe in "company dinners" further than this: when you especially and formally invite friends to dine with you, you naturally wish to honor them by some little extra preparation, but when they drop in upon you unawares, or when you invite them to come and dine with you quite informally, your ordinary bill of fare, no matter how frugal, is all that is required.

Cod, which is always a low-priced fish, may be cooked so that it is also one of the best. Steaks an inch thick, after being wiped, should be dipped in sweet oil or melted butter, seasoned on both sides with salt and pepper, and broiled over a clear fire. Like all fish they must be well done. The simplest sauce is a tablespoonful each of melted butter and minced parsley, kneaded in a bowl with a teaspoonful of lemon juice and seasonings. Among delightful pan fish, which are generally moderate in price, are tom cod and small shad.

Fresh herrings at 6 and 8 cents a pound are often passed by for a more expensive fish, but few fish are more delicious if, when you are eating, you are wary about bones. For broiling, sprinkle with salt and let them lie over night; this makes them more firm. Then clean and remove the entrails, without splitting; score them twice across the back, cutting nearly to the bone; brush over with a little melted butter or oil, and broil. When they have large roes, these should be fried and served with them. The Scotch way of broiling a herring is to split it, remove the backbone, sprinkle inside with pepper and salt, and press the inner surfaces of two fish together; they are then dipped in oatmeal and broiled first on one side and then on the other. They are dressed with butter and seasonings when dished. They may be fried like any pan fish, and for these an appetizing sauce is made with a teaspoonful of made mustard and half a tablespoonful of vinegar stirred into a cupful of drawn butter.

Clams will be at their best through the summer. The soft clams must be washed free from sand, dried on a cloth, rolled in crumble, then in egg and again in crumble and fried in plenty of hot fat. Lift out with a skimmer, drain for a moment on brown paper and serve with sliced cabbage. Fritters are generally made with soft clams although either may be used. Chop them fine, and for a pint of hard clams or a bunch of soft, make a batter with one-half pint of flour, the yolk of a raw egg, a little pepper and salt and milk enough to make a batter; stir in the clams and at the last the white of the egg, beaten to a froth. Fry by dropping in small spoonfuls into smoking fat.

Clam soup will not curdle if made carefully after the following rule. Drain twenty-five clams and put the liquor over the fire, skim as soon as

it boils until free from scum, add one pint of boiling water, the clams and a seasoning of pepper, and simmer slowly for five minutes; add one pint of hot milk, which has been thickened with one tablespoonful of flour; put in a generous bit of butter and stir until it melts, but do not allow it to boil after the milk is in. Break a dozen wafer crackers into bits in the tureen and pour on the soup.

I shall be greatly pleased and interested in answering questions from any of our lady readers regarding bills of fare for luncheon, supper or dinner parties, refreshments for little evening gatherings or the making of any special dish. Queries on house furnishing or decorations will also receive careful attention.

UNEARNED INCREMENT.

THE FARM ON THE LINKS.

Graham R. Tomson.

Gray o'er the pallid links, haggard and forsaken,

Still the old roof tree hangs rotting overhead,

Still the black windows stare sullenly to seaward,

Still the blank doorway gapes, open to the dead

What is it cries with the crying of the curlews?

What comes apace on those fearful, stealthy feet,

Back from the chill sea-deeps, gliding o'er the sand-dunes,

Home to the old home, once again to meet?

What is to say as they gather round the hearth-stone,

Flameless and dull as the feuds and fears of old?

Laughing and fleering still, menacing and mocking,

Sadder than death itself, harsher than the cold.

Woe for the ruined hearth, black with dule and evil,

Woe for the wrong and the hate too deep to die!

Woe for the deeds of the dreary days passed over,

Woe for the grief of the gloomy days gone by!

Where do they come from? furtive and despairing,

Where are they bound for? those that gather there,

Slow, with the sea-wind sobbing through the chambers,

Soft, with the salt mist stealing up the stair?

Names that are nameless now, names of dread and loathing,

Banned and forbidden yet, dark with spot and stain;

Only the old house watches and remembers,

Only the old home welcomes them again.

PARAGRAPHS.

Mother (proudly)—"And so you got to the head of the spelling class to-day?" Little Son—"Yee'm. The whole class missed on spellin' a word 'cept me." "And you didn't?" "No'm; there was only one way left to spell it."—Street & Smith's Good News.

Said a revivalist the other day—"I like to hear a man say that he owes a great deal to a woman, when he means his mother or his wife, but not when he means his landlady or his washerwoman."—Cribbed without credit by an Exchange.

In the tastes of Chicago and Boston
A mighty wide gulf intervenes;
Though one of them furnishes pork,
And the other one furnishes beans.

—Puck.

The English landlord system, so far from having any moral basis, is founded upon a supercilious contempt of the only moral principle that can afford any justification for private property in land.—Professor W. A. Hunter, M.A. LL.D.

The man who doesn't love his brother on the other side of the earth doesn't love his brother on the other side of the street.—Ram's Horn.

"Yes," he said, "I think I will go on the stage." "Oh, Harry," she murmured, "I admire you so much." "For my acting?" he queried. "No; for your bravery."—Washington Star.

"Pat, Pat! you should never hit a man when he is down." "Begorra! what did I work so hard to get him down for?"—Brandon Bucksaw.

Lawyer (sharply): "How is it that you know this watch has been in your family thirty years

and yet cannot remember your age?" Witness (slyly): "O, sir, the watch has kept time; I have not."—*Jewelers' Weekly*.

Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personality. Personality does not impose limitations on the action and industry of man and the well-being of the community as possession of land does, and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle.—*Gladstone*.

Mrs. Lackadase (wearily): "Oh, if I only had an object in life!" Mr. L. (testily): "There you go again! Object in life? Haven't you me?" Mrs. L. (forlornly): "But I mean some object worth living for."

Her Sister's Intended: "Minnie, if you'll come and sit on my knee I'll give you a nice present." Minnie (aged five): "Ith that what made you give thithter a diamond wing?"—*Ex.*

Better late than never—going to bed.—*Drake's Magazine*.

The Skeptical Aunt: "What does he do, Dolly, for a living?" Dolly (greatly surprised): "Why, Auntie, he does not have time to earn a living while we are engaged."—*Life*.

Filkins: "Dr. Killum has paid five visits to our house." Filkins: "My! at ten dollars a visit! That's expensive." Filkins: "It's only ten dollars. The last four he was after his money."—*Brooklyn Life*.

"I had to be away from school yesterday," said Tommy. "You must bring an excuse," said the teacher. "Who from?" "Your father." "He ain't no good at making excuses; Ma catches him every time."—*Tid-Bits*.

Young Husband: "Well, my dear, did you succeed in finding a stove to suit you?" Young wife: "Indeed, I did. Such good luck! I got a stove that will never cost us a cent for coal. The dealer said it was a self-feeder."—*The Christian Register*.

STORY OF A HAUNTED HOUSE.

R. Bulwer Lytton.

[Continued from last issue]—He gained the door to the landing, pulled it open and rushed forth. I followed him into the landing involuntarily, calling him to stop; but, without heeding me, he bounded down the stairs, clinging to the balusters and taking several steps at a time. I heard, where I stood, the street door open, heard it again clap to. I was left alone in the haunted house.

It was but for a moment that I remained undecided whether or not to follow my servant; pride and curiosity alike forbade so dastardly a flight. I re-entered my room, closing the door after me, and proceeded cautiously into the inner chamber. I encountered nothing to justify my servant's terror. I again carefully examined the walls, to see if there were any concealed door. I could find no trace of one—not even a seam in the dull brown paper with which the room was hung. How then had the *THING*, whatever it was, which had so scared him, obtained ingress, except through my own chamber?

I returned to my room, shut and locked the door that opened upon the interior one, and stood on the hearth, expectant and prepared. I now perceived that the dog had slunk into an angle of the wall, and was pressing close against it, as if literally striving to force his way into it. I approached the animal and spoke to it; the poor brute was evidently beside itself with terror. It showed all its teeth, the slaver dropping from its jaws, and would certainly have bitten me if I had touched it. It did not seem to recognize me. Whoever has seen at the Zoölogical Gardens a rabbit fascinated by a serpent, cowering in a corner, may form some idea of the anguish which the dog exhibited. Finding all efforts to soothe the animal in vain, and fearing that his bite might be as venomous in that state as if in the madness of hydrophobia, I left him alone, placed my weapons on the table beside the fire, seated myself, and recommenced my *Macaulay*.

Soon I became aware that something interposed between the page and the light; the page was overshadowed. I looked up and I saw what I shall find it very difficult, perhaps impossible, to describe.

It was a darkness shaping itself out of

the air in very undefined outline. I cannot say it was of a human form, and yet it had more of a resemblance to a human form, or rather shadow, than anything else. As it stood, wholly apart and distinct from the air and the light around it, its dimensions seemed gigantic; the summit nearly touched the ceiling. While I gazed, a feeling of intense cold seized me. An iceberg before me could not more have chilled me; nor could the cold of an iceberg have been more purely physical. I felt convinced that it was not the cold caused by fear. As I continued to gaze, I thought—but this I cannot say with precision—that I distinguished two eyes looking down on me from the height. One moment I seemed to distinguish them clearly, the next they seemed gone; but two rays of a pale blue light frequently shot through the darkness, as from the height on which I half believed, half doubted, that I had encountered the eyes.

I strove to speak; my voice utterly failed me. I could only think to myself, "Is this fear? it is not fear!" I strove to rise, in vain; I felt as if weighted down by an irresistible force. Indeed, my impression was that of an immense and overwhelming power opposed to my volition; that sense of utter inadequacy to cope with a force beyond men's, which one may feel physically in a storm at sea, in a conflagration, or when confronting some terrible wild beast, or rather, perhaps, the shark of the ocean, I felt morally. Opposed to my will was another will, as far superior to its strength as storm, fire, and shark are superior in material force to the force of men.

And now, as this impression grew on me, now came, at last, horror—horror to a degree that no word can convey. Still I retained pride, if not courage; and in my own mind I said: "This is horror, but it is not fear; unless I fear, I cannot be harmed; my reason rejects the thing; it is an illusion, I do not fear." With a violent effort I succeeded at last in stretching out my hand towards the weapon on the table; as I did so, on the arm and shou'der I received a strange shock, and my arm fell to my side powerless.

And now, to add to my horror, the light began slowly to wane from the candles; they were not, as it were, extinguished, but their flame seemed very gradually withdrawn: it was the same with the fire, the light was extracted from the fuel; in a few minutes the room was in utter darkness. The dread that came over me to be thus in the dark with that dark thing, whose power was so intensely felt, brought a reaction of nerve. In fact, terror had reached that climax, that either my senses must have deserted me or I must have burst through the spell. I did burst through it. I found voice, though the voice was a shriek. I remember that I broke forth with words like these: "I do not fear, my soul does not fear;" and at the same time I found strength to rise. Still in that profound gloom I rushed to one of the windows, tore aside the curtain, flung open the shutters; my first thought was *LIGHT*. And when I saw the moon, high, clear and calm, I felt a joy that almost compensated for the previous terror. There was the moon, there was also the light from the gas lamps in the deserted, slumberous street. I turned to look back into the room; the moon penetrated its shadow very palely and partially, but still there was light. The dark thing, whatever it might be, was gone, except that I could yet see a dim shadow, which seemed the shadow of that shade, against the opposite wall.

My eye now rested on the table, and from under the table (which was without cloth or cover, an old mahogany round table) rose a hand, visible as far as the wrist. It was a hand, seemingly, as much of flesh and blood as my own, but the hand of an aged person, lean, wrinkled, small, too, a woman's hand. That hand very softly closed on the two letters that lay on the table; hand and letters both vanished. Then came the same three loud, measured knocks I had heard at the bed-head before this extraordinary drama had commenced.

As these sounds slowly ceased I felt the whole room vibrate sensibly, and at the far end rose, as from the floor, sparks or globules like bubbles of light, many colored—green, yellow, fire-red, azure—up and down, to and fro, hither, thither, as tiny will-o'-the-wisps, the sparks moved, slow or swift, each at its own caprice. A chair (as in the drawing-room below) was now advanced from the wall without apparent

agency and placed at the opposite side of the table. Suddenly, as forth from the chair, grew a shape, a woman's shape. It was distinct as a shape of life, ghastly as a shape of death. The face was that of a youth, with a strange, mournful beauty; the throat and shoulders were bare, the rest of the form in a loose robe of cloudy white. It began sleeking its long yellow hair, which fell over its shoulders; its eyes were not turned toward me, but to the door; it seemed listening, watching, waiting. The shadow of the shade in the background grew darker; and again I thought I beheld the eyes gleaming out from the summit of the shadow, eyes fixed upon that shape.

As if from the door, though it did not open, grew out another shape, equally distinct, equally ghastly—a man's shape, a young man's. It was in the dress of the last century, or rather in a likeness of such dress; for both the male shape and the female, though defined, were evidently unsubstantial, impalpable—simulacra, phantasms; and there was something incongruous, grotesque, yet fearful, in the contrast between the elaborate finery, the courtly precision of that old-fashioned garb, with its ruffles, and lace, and buckles, and the corpse-like aspect and ghost-like stillness of the flitting wearer. Just as the male shape approached the female, the dark shadow darted from the wall, all three for a moment wrapped in darkness. When the pale light returned, the two phantoms were as if in the grasp of the shadow that towered between them, and there was a blood stain on the breast of the female; and the phantom male was leaning on its phantom sword and blood seemed trickling fast from the ruffles, from the lace; and the darkness of the intermediate shadow swallowed them up, they were gone. And again the bubbles of light shot, and sailed, and undulated, growing thicker and thicker and more wildly confused in their movements.

The closet door to the right of the fireplace now opened, and from the aperture came the form of a woman, aged. In her hand she held letters—the very letters over which I had seen the hand close; and behind her I heard a footstep. She turned round as if to listen, and then she opened the letters and seemed to read; and over her shoulder I saw a livid face, the face as of a man long drowned—bloated, bleached, sea weed tangled in its dripping hair; and at her feet lay a form as of a corpse, and beside the corpse cowered a child, a miserable emaciated child, with famine in its cheeks and fear in its eyes. And as I looked in the old woman's face the wrinkles and lines vanished, and it became a face of youth—hard-eyed, stony, but still youth; and the shadow darted forth and darkened over these phantoms as it had darkened over the last.

Nothing now was left but the shadow, and on that my eyes were intently fixed, till again eyes grew out of the shadow—malignant, serpent eyes. And the bubbles of light again rose and fell, and in their disordered, irregular, turbulent maze, mingled with the wan moonlight. And now from these globules themselves, as from the shell of an egg, monstrous things burst out; the air grew filled with them; larvae so bloodless and so hideous that I can in no way describe them, except to remind the reader of the swarming life which the solar microscope brings before his eyes in a drop of water—things transparent, supple, agile, chasing each other, devouring each other—forms like naught ever beheld by the naked eye. As the shapes were without symmetry, so their movements were without order. In their very vagrancies there was no sport; they came round me and round, thicker and faster and swifter, swarming over my head, crawling over my right arm, which was outstretched in voluntary command against all evil beings. Sometimes I felt myself touched, but not by them; invisible hands touched me. Once I felt the clutch as of cold, soft fingers at my throat. I was still equally conscious that if I gave way to fear I should be in bodily peril, and I concentrated all my faculties in the single focus of resisting, stubborn will. And I turned my sight from the shadow, above all from those strange serpent eyes—eyes that had now become distinctly visible. For there, though in naught else around me, I was aware that there was a Will, and a Will of intense, creative, working evil, which might crush down my own.

The pale atmosphere in the room began now to

sudden as if in the air of some near conflagration. The larva grew lurid as things that live in fire. Again the room vibrated; again were heard the three measured knocks; and again all things were swallowed up in the darkness of the dark shadow, as if out of that darkness all had come, into that darkness all returned.

As the gloom receded, the shadow was wholly gone. Slowly as it had been withdrawn, the flame grew again into the candles on the table, again into the fuel in the grate. The whole room came once more calmly, healthfully into sight.

The two doors were still closed, the door communicating with the servant's room still locked. In the corner of the wall, into which he had convulsively slouched himself, lay the dog. I called to him—no movement; I approached—the animal was dead; his eyes protruded, his tongue out of his mouth, the froth gathered round his jaws. [Continued in next issue.]

A COMPETENT WITNESS.

Boston Herald.

In one of our courts a nine-year-old boy was placed on the witness stand, but before he began to testify, the defendants' counsel objected and would not allow him to give his evidence, asking the Court to pass on his intelligence and his sense of responsibility of an oath.

"Question him on those points," was the Judge's reply.

"How old are you?" began the lawyer.

"Nine years old."

"Work or go to school?"

"Do both—sell papers and flowers."

"Do you know what an oath is?"

"Tell the truth in this case, sure."

"Now, if you should not stat the truth and tell a lie, what would become of you in the next world?"

The boy, after hesitating awhile, answered:

"I don't know what will become of me in this world, let alone the next."

"Proceed, Mr. Attorney," said the Judge; "the boy seems to have more than ordinary intelligence."

TEXTUAL MONSTERS.

The Californian.

It was a time of weird shapes—dragons, with all but the fiery breath; sea serpents one hundred feet in length; whale like monsters that crawled along in shallow waters; uncouth reptiles with gigantic bodies and small heads, helpless and harmless; others with enormous jaws lined with sharp fangs; birds with teeth and no wings; flying monsters with leathery wings twenty-two feet across; others with slender tails, the end broadened into a paddle-shaped structure; lizards thirty, forty, or more feet in length crawling through the mud, now standing on their hind legs, or soon bathing in the warm waters in search of prey. Such were some of the giants that formerly lived in North America in the old days, and made up what is called its fauna. While to day we laugh at the stories of the sea serpent as an impossibility, this creature in gigantic shape and of frightful appearance was one of the common forms of this time, and in some of the Western States, as Kansas, the skeletons of the monsters have been seen, ten within a small area, reaching away from sixty to nearly a hundred feet in length, telling a marvelous story of their former size and power.

CHOCOLATE THUMBS.

Binghamton Democrat.

It was at her first dinner party. She was naturally a little nervous, but everything went off well, and she soon became more at ease and talked rather brilliantly to those around her. The dessert was being served, and the waiters were engaged in passing those funny little frosted cakes which seem indispensable to the proper service and degustation of ices. They were cakes with pink frosting. The waiter came to where the lad sat and presented them. She looked them over and said: "I don't care for any." The waiter was about to pass on when she saw what she thought was an eclair on the edge of the dish furthest from her. "Yes, I will take," she said, reaching over for the eclair. "There is one with chocolate on it." "Beg pardon, Miss," said the waiter, as she tried to pick the chocolate-covered cake up—"beg pardon, but that's my thumb."

THE TOAD AND THE CENTIPEDE.

El Paso Herald.

In the court house yard there are quite a number of large, sleek-looking toads. One of these toads was seen by the loungers about the place engaged in an earnest attempt to swallow something that seemed to tax all his energies. A closer examination revealed the fact that the toad had seized a centipede by the rear end and was slowly and placidly stowing him away within his jaws, in spite of the victim's frantic efforts to escape. Nearly one-half of the reptile had disappeared, when the centipede, with the unencumbered balance of his 100 feet, succeeded in getting a ground hold, and with a desperate effort freed himself from the jaws of the devourer, and was moving rapidly away when the toad, finally realizing the situation, made a jump and again caught his victim. This time the centipede seemed to realize the hopelessness of his situation and frantically turned to the right and left, each time nipping his enemy severely upon the lips and head, but all to no purpose. The toad would coolly brush away these attacks, first with one foot and then the other, all the time taking the centipede in, until at last nothing remained but the toad calmly and serenely seated upon his haunches considering the next move.

EACH TO HIMSELF.

Walt Whitman.

Each man to himself, and each woman to herself, such is the word of the past and present, and the word of immortality; No one can acquire for another—not one! Not one can grow for another—not one! The song is to the singer, and comes back most to him; The teaching is to the teacher, and comes back most to him; The theft is to the thief, and comes back most to him; The love is to the lover, and comes back most to him; The gift is to the giver, and comes back most to him; it cannot fail.

* * * * * And no man understands any greatness or goodness but his own, or the indication of his own.

MONOPOLY IN DRESS.

Harper's Bazaar.

Once upon a time the greatest scisorist of his day designed a charming ball dress for a New York woman, and basely made its counterpart for a Paris resident, not thinking that the twins would ever meet. But both came to Washington the following winter, and at a British legion ball the two met and stood agast. Each was struck dumb at the sight of the other, and each thought she was facing a mirror until she saw another head and shoulders above the corsage, for the gowns were fac-similes in every detail. Two letters went to the man of scissors by the next morning's mail; two good customers withdrew their patronage and freely advertised his villainy. The victims met in consultation to see if there were any more duplicates in their wardrobes, and draw lots for the exclusive rights to any more masterpieces of his duplicity, rather than amuse the unfeeling gay world with another scene.

SHARKS IN A SWIMMING BATH.

Pall Mall Gazette.

At the Mentone Ladies' Baths, in Melbourne, Australia, some ladies and children had a thrilling adventure with two sharks. Among the bathers were Mrs. Percy Macmeikan, Mrs. Ffrench, and their two little girls. Mrs. Percy Macmeikan was the first to venture in the water, taking with her her little girl Roy and Mrs. Ffrench's daughter. The bathers went out as far as the rope which stretches across the open area. There they dived and swam, and the children frolicked in glee. Mrs. Macmeikan saw the little girls safely swinging upon the rope in three feet of water, and then went into deeper parts. At this stage Mrs. Ffrench's little boy, who was not bathing, noticed a large shark rapidly approaching the party, and immediately told Mrs. Durrant. The boy then called out to Mrs. Macmeikan that there was a shark in the water. She glanced around, and, with horror, saw a shark turning over within a foot of her. She kicked and splashed, and nearly fainted away. The shark made for the children, going between the rope and the shore. Mrs. Macmeikan speed-

ily recovered her presence of mind, and darted to the rescue of the children. Quickly securing Roy, this brave lady placed the child in about one foot of water. Then she turned to secure Mrs. Ffrench's child. She was just in time to effect the rescue. As she grasped the little one, and was making for the shore, the shark, with a big companion, made a dash. The undaunted woman succeeded in frightening the monsters away, and safely bore the children from all danger. Mrs. Macmeikan was much exhausted after her terrible adventure. The battle between life and death was most exciting, and two ladies fainted. The sharks were fine specimens, the largest one being about twelve feet in length, and the other about six feet. The pair had effected an entrance into the baths through some broken pickets. Some men were subsequently called in, and succeeded in killing the smaller shark. The big one managed to get away into the open sea.

THE FITNESS OF THINGS.

San Francisco Argonaut.

A man of rather questionable character died in a remote part of Waterloo township, Kansas. The nearest preacher was summoned to preach a funeral sermon. Not knowing the man, the preacher contented himself with a few general remarks on the solemn nature of the occasion, and then said he would be glad to have any of the company present say a word about the dead man, if they desired. No one moved or spoke, and again the preacher extended an invitation to the company to offer remarks, but again his invitation met with silence. Finally an old farmer, who sat in the corner of the front room, rose and said: "If no one has any remarks to make about the deceased, I would like to make a few remarks about the Alliance's sub-treasury plan."

HUMAN PERVERSITY.

Isaac B. Potter in The Century.

As if to show to what ridiculous ends the perversity of the human mind will sometimes lead us, the good farmers of Albany county were actually sending telegrams to the Legislature asking for the adjournment of a committee bearing because the roads of Albany county were too bad to permit them to get to town in time to oppose a bill which promised to make them better!

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SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1880.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising

all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenue, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make over-production impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions blessed to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

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MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. Meets second and fourth Fridays of the month at 7.30 p. m. at parlors of J. Cairns, 72½ E. Main st. President, John Cairns; secretary, Arthur M. Dignam.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington single tax league. President, Edwin Gladman; treas., R. J. Boyd; secy., Wm. Geddes, M.D., 1719 G. st., n. w.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 4th st. Pres., Wilbur, Mecca, 920 Hedge av.; secy. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 204 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 818 Lincoln av.; secy., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 725.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; secy., Robt. Aitchison, box K. K., South Chicago.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BROCKTON.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. McIndrick; secy., A. S. Barnard, 54 Belmont st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., H. B. Martin, Woods' block; secy., Oliver T. Erickson, 2308 Lyndale av., N.

MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman. This committee is pushing a State single tax petition. Blanks sent on application. It is also forming syndicate for publication of local single tax papers throughout the United States at little or no expense. Write for circulars to Percy Pepoon, secy., 518 Elm st., St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS.—Single tax league.—Meets every Friday evening 8 o'clock in Bowman Block, n. e. cor. 11th and Locust sts. Pres., J. W. Steele Sec'y, L. P. Custer, 4233 Connecticut st.

NEW YORK.

BROOKLYN.—Eastern District single tax club. Monthly meetings on the first Monday of each month, at 24 South Third street, Brooklyn. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 8th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; secy., Emily A. Deverall.

Brooklyn Woman's Single Tax Club meetings, third Tuesday of each month at 3 p. m., at 196 Livingston street. Pres., Eva J. Turner, 566 Carlton avenue; Cor. Secy., Venie B. Havens, 219 DeKalb avenue.

OHIO.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; secy., W. W. Kille, 108 East 5th st.

PENNSYLVANIA.

GEMMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Cor. Secy., E. D. Burleigh, 12 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesdays of each month at 4653 Main st., at 8 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society. Meets every Thursday and Sunday at 8 p. m. Social meetings second Tuesday, No. 30 South Broad st. Cor. Secy., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

POTTSVILLE.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weitzakorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; secy., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 2 e corner 6th and Franklin sts. Pres., Wm. H. McKinney; secy., C. S. Priser, 1011 Penn st.

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